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EDITORIALS

With the close of the year 1932, the term of Professor Arthur Scott Aiton, of the University of Michigan, as a member of the Board of Editors of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW came to an end. The resulting vacancy was filled at the annual meeting of the Board of Editors (held in Toronto) by the election of Professor Percy Alvin Martin of Stanford University. The Board of Editors takes this occasion to thank Professor Aiton for his many and continuous services to the best interests of the REVIEW and to express their assurance that he will continue, even though no longer on the active editorial staff, to "do his bit". The incoming editor, like Professor Aiton an outstanding scholar, has already served a term on the Board. His services have been continuous from the very beginning of the REVIEW. His presence on the Board will be felt.

At the annual meeting of the American Historical Society at Toronto in 1932, papers were read at the session on Hispanic-American History by J. Fred Rippy on the "British Bondholders and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine"; by Percy Alvin Martin on "Artigas of Uruguay"; and by Roy Nichols on "Early consuls and trade relations with Spanish America".

DUTCH GUIANA: A PROBLEM IN BOUNDARIES¹

Guiana, after 1500 the "no man's land" between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions in northern South America, has remained well into the twentieth century a bone of contention, so far as its boundaries are concerned, among three of the nations of Europe and two of South America.² Writers on Guiana commonly speak of it as the country lying between the rivers Amazon and Orinoco, although its present boundaries fall far short of these limits. What is actually the case is that Guiana includes only the territory drained by rivers, not a part of the Amazon or Orinoco systems, which flow north and east into the Atlantic Ocean. The interior ranges and highlands, which form the watershed dividing these river systems from the Amazon and Orinoco basins, are in general the line of Guiana's inland boundary.

Numerous rivers, running in general from south to north which cut up the entire area into long uneven strips, characterize, more than any other single fact, the topography of Guiana. Dutch Guiana, wedged in between British and French territory, has boundaries conditioned largely by this fact.³ Early settlements were made with few exceptions on the rivers, settlement spread inland along these rivers, and early attempts to set limits were expressed in terms of rivers as boundaries. Between the Oyapock River on the east, which forms the present boundary between French Guiana and

¹ A paper presented in the seminar of Professor Charles E. Chapman, at the University of California, April 1932. For a critical reading of the paper and for helpful suggestions the writer is indebted to Professor Chapman and to members of the seminar.

² There have been boundary disputes in this region between France and Brazil, Brazil and Venezuela, Venezuela and Great Britain, Great Britain and Brazil, besides those involving Dutch Guiana, to which this paper will limit itself.

³ Commonly called Surinam by the Dutch. The terms are used interchangeably in this paper.

Brazil, and the Barima River, near the western boundary of British Guiana, are six rivers which were important as starting points for early settlement.⁴

The Spaniards never made a serious attempt to settle in Guiana. Santo Thomé, founded about 1592, on the south bank of the Orinoco near its confluence with the Caroni, represented their greatest expansion southward.⁵ Evidence of any other than temporary occupation between the rivers Orinoco and Essequibo is far too conflicting and fragmentary to warrant acceptance.⁶ When it is borne in mind that practically a virgin continent lay open to Spanish hands for exploitation, their early neglect of Guiana, a region of jungle and torrential rains, is more readily appreciated. The presence in Guiana of the fierce Caribs no doubt made yet more forbidding a country by nature uninviting, while the apparent scarcity of precious metals in the interior left no incentive to induce the persistent effort necessary for a permanent conquest of the country.

The Dutch first appeared on the rivers of Guiana as traders in 1598. Their first definite settlement, however, cannot be dated earlier than 1613, when a fort was established on the Corantijn River. It seems fairly certain that several other posts were established by the Dutch in Guiana at about this same time.⁷ In 1621, under the charter granted the Dutch West India Company, the proprietorship of all Dutch establishments on the Guiana coast came into company hands. By 1665, the Dutch had added settlements on the rivers Berbice, Pomeroon, and Essequibo.

English interest in Guiana dates from 1596, when Walter

⁴ From east to west: the Marowijne (Marani), the Surinam, the Corantijn (Corentin), the Berbice, the Essequibo, and the Pomeroon.

⁵ About 150 miles up the Orinoco River.

⁶ J. Franklin Jameson, "Report on Spanish and Dutch settlements prior to 1648", in *Report . . . of the commission . . . "to investigate and report upon the true divisional line between the republic of Venezuela and British Guiana"*, (9 vols., Washington, 1897), I. 45-52.

⁷ George Lincoln Burr, "Report on the evidence of Dutch archives as to European occupation and claims in western Guiana", in *Report of the Venezuela Boundary Commission*, I. 160-161.

Raleigh published his *Discoverie of the large, rich, and beautiful Empire of Guiana*, in which he described his experiences on that coast the year before.⁸ Attempts at permanent settlement by the English, however, proved singularly unsuccessful, and by 1665 the only flourishing settlement which they could claim was that on the Surinam River. The French also at that date had two small settlements in eastern Guiana, at Sinnamarie and Cayenne. Each of the three nations which possess territory in Guiana today had thus made permanent settlements there by 1665.

The first of the upheavals which caused territory in Guiana to change hands at various times during the next century and a half was the second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667). In March, 1667, the Dutch captured the English settlement on the Surinam River, which was confirmed to them at the Peace of Breda that same year.⁹ In March, 1676, the Dutch attacked and captured the remaining French settlement at Cayenne, and for a brief period they were in possession of the whole of Guiana.¹⁰

The attacks and counter-attacks of French, British, and Dutch in Guiana during the succeeding century, faint echoes of European struggles, few resulting in permanent changes in ownership of territory as far as Guiana was concerned, may well be passed over here. The final result, however, was almost disastrous for the Dutch. During the Napoleonic wars, the Netherlands had become a mere appanage of France, while the Dutch colonies in Guiana fell into the hands of the English, who had come in the guise of an ally.¹¹ The treaties which brought peace to Europe in 1814 also determined the fate of Guiana. By the London Convention of August, 1814, the British were confirmed in their possession of the captured Dutch settlements of Demerary, Berbice, and Essequibo in

⁸ London, 1596.

⁹ James Rodway, *Guiana: British, Dutch, and French* (London, 1912), pp. 64-66.

¹⁰ For eight months. See *ibid.*, p. 71. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107ff.

western Guiana; the French regained their feeble posts in eastern Guiana; while to the Dutch remained only Surinam, an indefinite territory lying between British and French spheres of influence.¹² Nothing much more definite than this can be said about the boundaries of Dutch Guiana in 1814.

Small wonder, either, that no painstaking effort had previously been made to determine Surinam's exact boundaries. French, Dutch, and British alike had learned, so they thought, that Guiana was not the El Dorado which Walter Raleigh had described in such glowing terms. Its real mineral wealth was destined to remain unknown and untouched for a number of decades. What value could the endless jungle have for the small number of settlers in Dutch Guiana, most of whom were mainly interested in agriculture and who were kept busy in repelling attacks from within and without? Therefore, when boundaries were first mentioned the coast had been inferred, and inland boundaries remained uncertain or were not mentioned at all.

Ordinarily, writers dispose of Dutch Guiana's boundaries as follows: the Marowijne River on the east, dividing it from French Guiana; the Corantijn River on the west, dividing it from British Guiana; and the Tumac-Humuc Range of mountains in the interior, dividing it from Brazil on the south. Actually, the matter is not so simple. Only on the north, where the Atlantic Ocean and the swampy mangrove forests meet, can there be said to exist a fully defined boundary.

During the last half of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, the Dutch considered the Sinnamarie River as their eastern or French boundary.¹³ This extraordinary claim so far to the east seems to have been based largely on their trading activities in this direction and upon the weakness of the French settlements. The Dutch did have some

¹² *Cambridge modern History* (New York, 1912), IX. 755.

¹³ H. D. Benjamins, "De grenzen van Nederlandsch Guiana", in *Tijdschrift van het koninklijk Nederlandsch aardrijks-kundig genootschap* (2d ser; Amsterdam, 1883-), XV. (1898), 801. Hereafter cited as: *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*.

justification in claiming territory on the right bank of the Marowijne River since Charles II. of England, in a land grant to Lord Willoughby, dated June 2, 1662, had expressly stated that the colony of Surinam (at that time in English hands) had expanded over the right bank of the Marowijne.¹⁴

Nevertheless, the Marowijne River eventually came to be regarded as the eastern boundary of Dutch Guiana. The fact that the Dutch had permitted the French to build forts on the right bank of the river helped to bring this about.¹⁵ The failure of the Dutch to dispute this occupation was not necessarily owing to carelessness on their part, but instead they saw in it an instrument to prevent the escape of negro slaves across the river, and it was also an aid in driving off the marauding bushmen. Boundary complications, however, were to result which originally were unforeseen. The Marowijne River at about 4° 20' north latitude divides into two branches; the more westerly one, the Tapanahoni, and the more easterly one, the Lawa.¹⁶ Since gold was not discovered in this area until considerably after the middle of the nineteenth century, the valleys of these two source rivers remained unimportant and the determination of a definite boundary so far into the interior unnecessary.

With the discovery of gold the question immediately took on a different aspect. Two questions arose: (1) If it were agreed that the Marowijne to its source was the boundary river between Dutch and French Guiana, then it must be determined on geographical grounds which of these two source rivers, the Lawa or the Tapanahoni, was the main stream of the upper Marowijne River. (2) Should either nation be able to prove that it had occupied or had exercised acts of sovereignty over the territory in dispute the claim of that nation would be materially strengthened.

The Dutch were to make this second point the crux of their

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 847.

¹⁶ See the map in Rodway.

entire case. That the Dutch in Surinam had quite early learned something of the interior is indicated by this fact: the necessity of driving as far as possible from the settled portions of the colony the escaped negro slaves, or bushmen, who periodically attacked it. Had these slave wars not occurred the Dutch would have had no occasion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to establish military posts so far into the interior, nor to have exercised acts of sovereignty there.¹⁷ Without this necessary expansion, the Dutch right to the land through which the two source rivers of the Marowijne flowed could not have been established. The Dutch reasoned that since the only inhabitants of the territory in dispute were the bushmen, and since the implied right to exercise sovereignty over these people had never been relinquished by the Dutch, their claim was a valid one. Furthermore, Dutch military posts had been established adjacent to and even on this territory, and it had at various times been traversed by expeditions in pursuit of the bushmen. No matter then whether the Lawa or the Tapanahoni were fixed upon as the upper Marowijne River, the claim of the Dutch could be equally well substantiated.

In 1861, an attempt was made by the colonials themselves to settle this vexing question. A mixed commission composed of government officials from both Dutch and French Guiana explored the Marowijne River to the confluence of the Tapanahoni and the Lawa.¹⁸ This commission after measuring the comparative width of stream and after taking various depth measurements rendered a verdict in favor of the eastern branch, the Lawa, and therefore favorable to the Dutch. But since no formal treaty was concluded between the home countries, France and the Netherlands, confirming the findings of

¹⁷ The slave wars continued intermittently from about 1730 to 1783. See Rodway, p. 78.

¹⁸ *Gegevens betreffende Suriname, verzameld door de Nederlandsche sub-commissie voor Suriname voor de wereldtentoonstelling te Brussel* (Amsterdam, 1910), p. 49.

the commission its work was entirely barren of immediate results. Nevertheless, whenever the question should finally come to a decision, the findings of this commission would no doubt serve as evidence.

This came about in 1888 as a result of the new gold discoveries east of the Tapanahoni in 1874.¹⁹ Prospectors, both Dutch and French, carried on a miniature rush to the new field. The Dutch felt that their rights were being infringed by the presence of the French, while the government at Paris showed a far more lively interest than formerly in the disputed territory. Taking the initiative, the Dutch government suggested that the standing difference be arbitrated by a neutral judge whose decision was to be final.²⁰ The arbitrator agreed upon was Alexander III., Czar of Russia, who accepted the responsibility. In May, 1891, he returned a verdict in favor of the Dutch, giving the following reasons:

That the Dutch government, according to well established facts not denied by the French government, had already by the end of the previous [eighteenth] century established military posts on the Lawa.

That the French authorities in Guiana have often acknowledged that the negroes residing in the disputed area directly or indirectly were subject to the Dutch government; and that the French authorities did not enter into treaty relationships with the inland tribes living there except by means of the mediation, and in the presence, of a representative of the Dutch government.

That beyond contradiction it has been determined by both the interested powers that the Marowijne from its source must be taken as the boundary between their respective colonies.

That the Mixed Commission of 1861 had collected evidence in favor of recognizing the Lawa as the superior stream of the upper Marowijne.

On these grounds:

We declare that the Lawa must be considered as the boundary between the two possessions.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁰ The agreement to arbitrate between France and the Netherlands was dated November 29, 1888. See *Aardijkskundig genootschap*, VIII. 519.

As a result of this decision the territory above the confluence of the Lawa and the Tapanahoni must be considered henceforth to belong to the Dutch, however without infringing on the bona fide rights previously obtained by French nationals on the territory which was in dispute.²¹

The territory which the Dutch obtained by this award was not large; nevertheless, the decision took away one more friction area in northeastern South America.

But the end was not yet. Higher up, at 3° 16' north latitude, the Lawa River divides into a western branch, the Itany (Litani), and an eastern branch, Marowijne Creek. Now came the question which of these two streams was the main branch of the Lawa. The Mixed Commission of 1861 considered the Itani as the superior branch of the Lawa. "It is known," says Benjamins,

that this commission in traveling upstream, at each branching followed the branch which was widest at its mouth, thereby not taking into consideration the fact that tributary rivers and creeks not seldom widen out at some distance from the place at which they unite with the other stream.²²

The Mixed Commission of 1861 did not ascend Marowijne Creek. This was done in 1888 by Henri Coudreau, the noted French explorer in South America, but his findings produced nothing which might aid in clearing up the controversy.²³ The Dutch now fell back upon their earlier method of reasoning. They pointed out the fact, which Coudreau even admitted, that colonies of bushmen, the Boninegers, had lived on Marowijne Creek as early as 1790. Since the Czar in 1891 had agreed that bushmen were Dutch subjects and their territory Dutch

²¹ *Nouveau recueil général de traités et autres actes relatifs aux rapports de droit international* (2d ser; Gottingue and Leipzig, 1876-1908), XVIII. (1893), 100. For the Dutch copy see: *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, VIII. 519-520.

²² *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 804.

²³ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 805.

territory, by the same reasoning the area between the Itani and Marowijne Creek could be considered Dutch territory.²⁴

It was clear that Czar Alexander as arbitrator in 1891 had not rendered a judgment which was complete, which defined without vagueness or ambiguity the course of the Marowijne River from its mouth to its source. Furthermore, another question was in time to cause difference of opinion: the ownership of the islands in the Marowijne River. Since the *thalweg* was practically impossible of definition above Abina there was no method recognized in international law whereby the exclusive ownership of these islands could be determined except by a treaty based on compromise.²⁵

Such a treaty was concluded at Paris, on September 30, 1915, between the Dutch minister plenipotentiary, De Stuers, and the French foreign minister, Delcassé. The treaty limited itself to the islands in the Marowijne River between the northern point of Stoelman's Island (Dutch) and the southern extremity of Portal Island (French). It provided that: (1) a line in the middle of the river (at normal flow) should mark the boundary; (2) islands entirely or largely to the west of this line should be Dutch, while those entirely or largely to the east of this line should be French; (3) navigation on the river should be free to both nations; (4) gold-dredging permits were to be granted by mutual consent.²⁶

No attempt was made in this treaty to define what stream was to be considered the upper Marowijne River above the fork of the Lawa. Very little real progress has been made since 1891 in settling this problem. On various occasions the question has been brought to the attention of the respective governments, but at no time has it claimed the serious attention of both nations simultaneously and hence the matter has

²⁴ *Ibid.*, XV. 806.

²⁵ Abina (Albina) is about twenty miles from the mouth of the Marowijne River. I. Oppenheim's *International law* (4th ed.; New York, 1928), I. 426 defines *thalweg* as: "The midchannel of the river", or "its principal channel if it has more than one."

²⁶ *Nouveau recueil général de traités* (3d ser; Leipzig, 1908-), XII. 269-271.

never been carried through to a satisfactory conclusion. In 1902, L. A. Bakhuis, a Dutch geographer, called attention to the publication of a French map by the firm of Erhard Frères at Paris, on which the cartographer, Maurice Goffroy, had indicated the Itani rather than Marowijne Creek as part of the eastern boundary between French and Dutch Guiana.²⁷ This, observed Mr. Bakhuis, was at variance with the map of W. L. Loth, government surveyor of Surinam, who had indicated Marowijne Creek as the boundary. Mr. Bakhuis urged that the standing question be settled before prospectors actually discovered the gold, which it was rumored, was likely to be found in this area.

Again in 1911, the matter drew attention in the second chamber of the States-General, the chief legislative body of the Netherlands.²⁸ A member (Van Doorn) requested information as to the state of Dutch Guiana's boundaries east and west, and urged that an immediate adjustment be made of all standing disputes. The Dutch colonial minister answered that diplomatic negotiations with France on this subject were then in progress and that he hoped for an early settlement. In 1913, the Dutch foreign minister reported to the first chamber of the States-General that he had again offered to make a treaty with France to adjust all differences concerning the eastern boundary of Dutch Guiana.²⁹ The matter does not come up again, and the inference is that no formal agreement has been reached on the question.³⁰

²⁷ *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XIX. 604-606.

²⁸ J. J. Staal, "De grenzen van onze bezitting Suriname", in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XXX. 97ff.

²⁹ J. J. Staal, "Grensregelingen voor Suriname", in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XXX. 239ff.

³⁰ The writer has examined all the numbers to date (April, 1932) of the review *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*. Neither in the section of this review customarily devoted to Dutch colonial possessions in the west, nor in the condensations of the annual reports from Surinam, has anything been found which might point to the conclusion of such an agreement. The numbers of *De Indische Gids* (Amsterdam, 1879-) has likewise been gone through carefully to date. Although usually alert to current questions in any of the Dutch colonies, no further mention is made of this

What does indicate a practical if not a diplomatic solution is that the most recent maps of Guiana agree in drawing the French-Dutch boundary along the Itani, the western branch of the Lawa, and not along Marowijne Creek, the eastern branch.³¹ It is conceivable that the Netherlands has tacitly acquiesced in this interpretation; and in any event, the difference, is not drawing public attention in the two countries by its acuteness.

Another northward-flowing stream, the Corantijn River, parallels on the west of Dutch Guiana the case of the Marowijne on its eastern boundary. The historical evidence which has been used to prove the Corantijn River as the western boundary of Dutch Guiana goes back to the close of the eighteenth century, and is interwoven with the maze of events occurring in Guiana during that time. Van Sypesteyn, writing in 1854, comments as follows:

To the west is the river Corantijn, the boundary between Dutch and British Guiana. Formerly this boundary was indicated by a marker placed halfway between the rivers Corantijn and Berbice, as a result of an agreement between governors Van Aerssen of Sommeldijk and Van Peere (also owner of Berbice). Later was recognized as boundary a line running in a south to west direction, through the mouth of Devil's Creek, terminating in the ocean three miles from the Berbice River. Differences arising out of this were ironed out in an agreement concluded in 1799 between governors De Frederici and Van Batenburg, whereby the river Corantijn was accepted as the boundary division. This natural boundary was maintained in the transfer by the English in 1816.³²

controversy. The writer regrets that the more recent articles by H. D. Benjamins, the foremost student, since 1898, of Dutch Guiana's boundary problems, were not available. These were published in the *West Indische Gids* (Amsterdam, 1919-), during 1920-1926 in volumes III., IV., VI., and VII.

³¹ The map in Rodway (1912) is an example. More significant is the Itani indicated as boundary on the very careful map of Dutch Guiana in *Gegevens betreffende Surinam* (1910).

³² Benjamins quoting C. A. van Sypesteyn's *Beschrijving van Suriname*, in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 807. Van Aerssen of Sommeldijk was governor of Surinam from 1683 to 1688.

On this agreement of 1799 between Governor De Frederici of Surinam and Governor Van Batenburg of Berbice the thesis that the Corantijn is the boundary between Dutch and British Guiana is still based. The most important provisions of this agreement were: (1) That the west bank of the Corantijn was to constitute the boundary. (2) That all the islands lying in the Corantijn River itself were to belong to Surinam. (3) That the outpost established on the west bank of the Corantijn should also belong to Surinam.³³ Why a single isolated post on the west shore of the river should have remained in the hands of the government of Surinam is a question which so far has not been satisfactorily explained. It is known, however, that the Surinam government had abandoned this post before 1816.³⁴ When, therefore, Surinam was returned to the Dutch under the terms of the London Convention of 1814 it came back with the western boundary which it had had when formerly in Dutch hands. This boundary was understood to be the Corantijn, thereby indirectly acknowledging the validity of the private agreement between De Frederici and Van Batenburg in 1799.³⁵

The Dutch in Surinam have never disputed the fact that the Corantijn River is the legitimate boundary between their territory and British Guiana, and therefore Schomburgk's statement that the Dutch claimed to Devil's Creek is unwarranted.³⁶ Neither do the Dutch claim exclusive jurisdiction over the river itself, as has been asserted by some English writers, since the river has been equally open to navigation by ships of both nations.³⁷

But what constitutes the Corantijn River? Robert H. Schomburgk in 1843, in the employ of the British government, was the first to chart and explore this river to what he thought

³³ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 808.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, XV. 810-811.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, XV. 812.

³⁶ Robert H. Schomburgk, *A description of British Guiana* (London, 1840), p. 17.

³⁷ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 815.

was its source. The branch which he followed was what we now know to be the Coeroeni, a stream flowing rather far to the eastward. The Dutch, in the absence of better information, accepted, or at least failed to dispute, Schomburgk's map showing the Corantijn-Coeroeni route as the boundary.³⁸ In 1871, however, C. Barrington Brown, officially engaged in a geological survey for the British government, again charted the Corantijn River, discovering at 3° 25' north latitude a western branch which he called the New River. Schomburgk evidently had missed this stream despite the fact that Brown reported concerning its size as follows:

We arrived at the junction of the main channel of this, and the small channel of the new river, and measured its width and depth, finding it to be 138 yards wide with depths across varying from 8 to 28 feet. On reaching the main channel of the new river we found it to be 272 yards wide, having a depth from east to west varying from 6 to 30 feet. From these measurements it will be seen, that the new river is fully twice the size of what has hitherto been regarded as the Corantyne river, but which really is only a branch.³⁹

Here then was support for a claim by the Dutch to the territory between the Coeroeni and the New River. This change of attitude, moreover, would not have been an unreasonable one considering that the Dutch had heretofore relied upon the report of the British official explorer, Schomburgk, whose findings had been proved inaccurate by a later British official expedition. However the Dutch government did not take advantage of this opportunity. Benjamins in 1898 realized this mistake when he said:

A more accurate regulation of the boundary is therefore also necessary here and the steps to accomplish this will need to originate from our [Dutch] government. Under the circumstances we could hardly expect England to suggest steps leading to a definitive settle-

³⁸ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 819.

³⁹ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 820, quoting C. B. Brown and J. G. Sawkins, *Reports on . . . British Guiana* (London, 1875), 215.

ment. As far as I know such a suggestion has so far not come from our government.⁴⁰

England accordingly permitted the question to rest undisturbed in view of the fact that the Dutch had made no protest, and since there would be no advantage in opening an argument in which all the positive evidence favored the opposing nation. English maps appearing after 1871 reflected this attitude by continuing to indicate Schomburgk's line along the Coeroeni as the boundary.⁴¹ The English were evidently proceeding upon the theory that the longer the settlement was delayed the weaker would become the Dutch claim, and such a stand though not legally supportable yet might prove effective in practice.

There is little evidence that the question has been agitated by the Dutch government since 1900. The first chamber of the States-General in its temporary report for 1913 expressed the opinion "that it appears from the most recent investigations that the New River is the rightful Corantijn and that the more easterly branch [Coeroeni] is incorrectly designated as such".⁴² This opinion, however, was not shared by the foreign minister in office at the time, who stated that the Dutch and British governments had been in agreement in accepting the Schomburgk line in 1843. That this latter assertion was clearly unsupported by the facts was pointed out almost immediately by the geographer, J. J. Staal, who again called attention to the geographical evidence. But beyond these statements of opinion the Dutch government does not seem to have gone.⁴³ Again, as on the eastern boundary the recent maps favor the French, so on the western side the same maps

⁴⁰ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 821.

⁴¹ For example see the map in E. F. im Thurns, *Among the Indians of Guiana* (London, 1883).

⁴² Staal in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XXX. 238-239.

⁴³ Again the numbers of *Aardrijkskundig genootschap* and *De Indische Gids* have been examined carefully to date. Not the least indication is given that the subject has been mentioned officially to the British government.

favor the English.⁴⁴ Invariably the boundary is drawn along the Corantijn-Coeroeni line, thereby continuing to ignore the findings of C. Barrington Brown. What effect the World War may have had in throwing these comparatively minor diplomatic issues in the background is problematical.

There remains for consideration the southern boundary of Dutch Guiana. While the boundaries east and west are formed by rivers this is entirely a land boundary, and herein lies the reason for the immense confusion which has from the first existed concerning its demarcation. In the eighteenth, and even early nineteenth century, practically nothing was known of the far interior of Guiana. The seacoast and the entrances to the rivers constituted the only areas concerning which there was fairly accurate information. Mapmakers of the time accordingly faced a problem not easy to solve. To plead lack of information as an excuse for indicating the interior boundaries of Guiana as entirely unknown would hardly enhance the reputation of a cartographer and certainly would not satisfy those who desired definite information. To draw some line, no matter how conjectural, based on indefinite reports of travelers, rumor, or even mere fancy, became the rule rather than the exception. Benjamins, after a critical study of these maps, says:

Whoever by means of old maps seeks to determine the southern boundary of Guiana is in danger of investing a great deal of time without coming to any definite conclusion. Here is no longer any question of geography; the most unbridled fancy has been at work!⁴⁵

The Venezuela Boundary Commission in 1897 after a most exhaustive study dealing with maps of Guiana had arrived at a similar conclusion.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 12. See also: Rand McNally, *Commercial Atlas of foreign Countries* (New York, 1921), p. 88; and W. & A. K. Johnson, *Royal Atlas of modern Geography* (London, 1917), p. 59.

⁴⁵ *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 823-836.

⁴⁶ Anyone wishing to go into this evidence more carefully should see: *Report of the Venezuela Boundary Commission*, III., IV., and VI.; also the map in *Aar-*

Since the maps are unreliable, let us examine the claims of the countries themselves previous to 1891. Theoretically each nation claimed the rivers on which it had settled, with their basins and tributaries to their farthest sources. On this basis the Dutch claimed southward all land to the west of the Marowijne-Lawa rivers to the interior highlands, the Tumac-Humuc Range, which forms the divide between the Guiana rivers and those of the Amazon system. According to this conception, their neighbor to the south was Brazil. But, before 1891, the French claimed the Tapanahoni (which rises in the southwestern corner of what is now Dutch Guiana) as the rightful upper Marowijne, and all land to the east of it as French territory.⁴⁷ Instead of Brazil, therefore, French Guiana would bound the Dutch on the south. Brazil stood aside in this quarrel since it considered its rights to extend northward only to the Tumac-Humuc Range. When Czar Alexander's arbitral decision in 1891 was rendered in favor of the Lawa River as the upper Marowijne, the Dutch claim that their territory extended to the Tumac-Humuc Range was practically assured of recognition. At least the way was now open to direct negotiations with Brazil on this question.

But what and where is the Tumac-Humuc Range? Although the term was used glibly enough by geographers it must be admitted that even to the end of the nineteenth century very little exact information existed concerning these highlands. The Brazilians admitted openly in 1889 that they knew little of this region and Coudreau, the French explorer, who had ascended the Marowijne River almost to its source, was forced to admit the same.⁴⁸ The Dutch share in increasing knowledge in this region was certainly not large—the Mixed Com-

drijkskundig genootschap, XV. 970, on which Benjamins has summed up these guesses and half-guesses of the mapmakers as to Dutch Guiana's southern boundary by placing a number of them on one map, thereby showing variations from 4° 20' north latitude to 1° 20' north latitude.

⁴⁷ *Supra*, pp. 5-7.

⁴⁸ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 838.

mission of 1861 saw in the distance the foothills of the range! In this regard Benjamins said in 1898:

Our two boundary rivers have been explored to their sources, but not by us; the Marowijne by Crevaux and Coudreau, the Corantijn by Schomburgk and Barrington Brown. Concerning the sources of our other rivers we know nothing, practically nothing. . . . We know not even whether these rivers arise in this Tumac-Humuc highland. Should it come finally to negotiations concerning our southern boundary our ignorance would place us at a decided disadvantage.⁴⁹

In 1896, the colonial government of Surinam petitioned the mother country asking that an expedition be sent out to explore the southern part of the colony into the Tumac-Humuc Range. The Dutch minister of colonies, Mr. Bergsma, fearing that the expenses of such an expedition would be too great, rejected the proposal.

So the entire matter seemed to rest. Benjamins in 1898, probably influenced by the severe crisis just passed in Guiana between Venezuela and Great Britain, urged strongly that the Dutch government take the initiative by suggesting the establishment of an international boundary commission to settle all existing boundary questions in Guiana. The function of this commission, in which all immediately interested nations were to be represented, was "to study the interrelated boundary differences" in Guiana; "to investigate the historical grounds upon which claims were advanced"; and "to suggest reasonable and equitable boundaries wherever natural boundaries were absent". Finally the commission was to lay down principles to which the participating nations were to conform when definitive treaties were finally drawn up.⁵⁰

There is little doubt that the world-wide attention directed to the diplomatic crisis between the United States and Great Britain resulting from the Venezuela Boundary Dispute and the exhaustive labors of the boundary commission appointed

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, XV. 839. See J. Crevaux, *Voyages dans Amerique du Sud* (Paris, 1883).

⁵⁰ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 844-846.

by President Cleveland in 1896 did much to stimulate other nations to settle their boundary differences in Guiana. Already, in the *European Mail* of December 16, 1896, occurs the following:

We believe that the British Government are now making an effort to settle the long-standing frontier question between British Guiana and Brazil without delay. The question of the frontier between Dutch Guiana and Brazil will be entered into at the same time.⁵¹

Although this announcement proved to be somewhat premature it indicated the trend of events.

It was becoming self-evident that any future settlement of the southern boundary of Dutch Guiana was dependent upon an increased knowledge of the topography of this region. With the opening of the new century, the Dutch gave evidence of an increased interest in their western colony by sending five successive geographical and exploring expeditions into the interior of Surinam.⁵² Two of these expeditions (Tapanahoni, 1904; and Tumac-Humuc, 1907) succeeded in bringing back much definite information concerning the true lay of the land between Brazil and Dutch Guiana.

In the meanwhile, diplomatic negotiations were opened with Brazil concerning the matter. Unusual progress was made, and even before the last-named expedition had completed its work an agreement was reached (May 5, 1906) between Rio Branco, foreign minister of Brazil, and Mr. Palm, Dutch minister at Rio de Janeiro. By this treaty it was agreed that the boundary between Brazil and Dutch Guiana should be drawn along the summit of the divide of which the Tumac-Humuc Range appeared to be the center; this line was to run eastward to the point where it intersected the boundary of French Guiana, and westward to the point where it inter-

⁵¹ Benjamins in *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XV. 842, quoting *European Mail*, December 16, 1896.

⁵² Expeditions to the Coppename River (1901), Saramacca River (1902-1903), Gonini River (1903), Tapanahoni River (1904), Tumac-Humuc Range (1907). See *De Indische Gids*, XXX. 91; also *Aardrijkskundig genootschap*, XXII. 220ff.

sected the boundary of British Guiana.⁵³ It should be noted that as the Tumac-Humuc Range runs westward it gradually loses altitude and finally terminates in a ridge of foothills. There it is taken up again by a mountain chain, the Acarai Range, which curves gradually in a south and southwest direction. In its western extremity the boundary was to follow the divide of this range.

The above treaty was ratified by the Dutch government on July 11, 1908, and was announced by royal order on December 28 of the same year.⁵⁴ It was not received without misgivings. Its critics pointed out that neither the eastern nor western boundaries of Surinam had been definitely drawn. On the east there was still the question whether the Itani River or Marowijne Creek was the upper course of the Marowijne River, while on the west it had likewise not been determined whether the Coeroeni or the New River was the upper Co-rantijn. The fear was expressed that the drawing of this new line would only complicate matters and delay final settlement along the other boundaries.⁵⁵

Now that the matter of drawing the boundary had been specified by treaty there remained the far more important and more difficult task of actually surveying the line itself. Since the territory involved was unsettled, and was likely to remain so for some time, it was mutually agreed at the time the treaty was made that the survey was not to be carried out until the needs of settlers made it desirable. It was not until 1930 that the matter seems again to have received any considerable attention. *De Indische Gids* of July for that year reports:

Brazil has taken the initiative in finally marking out the boundaries of the Guianas. Surinam is coöperating by planning to send one or more expeditions to the south boundary of the colony.

At this moment they are preparing to send out three expeditions

⁵³ *De Indische Gids*, XXVIII, 920-921.

⁵⁴ *Gegevens betreffende Surinam*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *De Indische Gids*, XXX, 389.

to the boundary of Brazil, along the following routes: Corantijn-Coeroeni-Sipaliwini, Marowijne-Tapanahoni-Paloemeu, and Marowijne-Lawa-Litani.

When the Dutch expeditions are to set out has not as yet been determined.⁵⁸

Thus the southern boundary of Dutch Guiana, concerning which the least had been known, may now become the first to be definitely settled along its entire course.

Although there remain a few minor problems, at least we can now restate the boundaries of Dutch Guiana with a great deal more certainty and accuracy than before. To summarize: Dutch Guiana is bounded on the north by the Atlantic Ocean. On the east it is separated from French Guiana by the Marowijne River to 4° 20' north latitude; the boundary then follows the eastern branch of this river, the Lawa, to 3° 16' north latitude, where it divides into a western branch, the Itani (French claim), and an eastern branch, Marowijne Creek (Dutch claim). A treaty is necessary to decide this remaining difference on the eastern boundary. On the west the Corantijn River divides Dutch and British Guiana to 3° 25' north latitude, where the Corantijn branches into a western stream, the New River (Dutch claim), and an eastern stream, the Coeroeni (English claim). A treaty is necessary here also to determine the correct boundary line. On the south, the boundary line runs generally in an east-to-west direction along the summit of the Tumac-Humuc and Acarai ranges, eastward to where it intersects with the Dutch-French boundary, and westward to where it intersects with the British-Dutch boundary. The precise determination of these points of intersection is of course dependent upon the conclusion of

⁵⁸ LII. 654-655. The Dutch expeditions were scheduled to set out in July, 1931, but as late as April of that year, C. H. de Goeje, one of the leaders of the expeditions, gave orders to postpone the departure indefinitely (See *De Indische Gids* for July 1931, p. 663). This is the last mention of the matter in the numbers of *De Indische Gids* through April, 1932.

the suggested treaties between France and the Netherlands, and between the Netherlands and Great Britain.

If the nations involved are truly desirous of settling equitably their remaining boundary differences in Guiana the success of the arbitral method in 1891 and again in 1896-1897 should recommend itself to them. No international difference is too small to deserve prompt attention. The common membership of France, Great Britain, and the Netherlands in the League of Nations affords an additional avenue for the speedy adjustment of these differences.⁵⁷

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⁵⁷ Since no extensive bibliography could be appended here the writer has used the next best procedure of citing fully in the footnotes the principal authorities used. A large part of the material in the paper has been drawn from Dutch periodical literature. Particular acknowledgment is due to the Dutch scholar, Dr. H. D. Benjamins, for drawing again and again upon his invaluable paper (*supra*, p. 5), summarizing the boundary problems of Dutch Guiana up to the year 1898.

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE CHURCH IN VENEZUELA¹

Venezuelan historians and publicists consider the political and social impotence to which the Church in their country has been reduced a noteworthy feature of their national evolution that has distinguished it from that of other Spanish-American states. There seems to be adequate justification for this view. In no division of the former Spanish Empire did its loss of influence fall so early, in none has it been so nearly complete as in Venezuela. Anti-clericalism among the upper classes became prominent in the late colonial period and persistent after 1810. During the decades from 1810 to 1840 Venezuela fought its Kulturkampf and won an unquestioned victory. Such uncertain support as the Church has been able to secure since that time has been at best passive only.

As a division of La Gran Colombia, 1821-1830, the Department of Venezuela was recognized as the most pronounced opponent of clericalism.² Its opposition to the Church was

¹ This paper was read at the meeting of the Southwestern Political and Social Science Association in March, 1932. It is taken from the writer's "History of the Church in Venezuela, 1810-1930", accepted as a doctoral dissertation by the Department of History of the University of North Carolina, a study as yet unpublished.

² In addition to manuscript collections in Caracas, and Bogotá, important documents on the Church in this period are found in the following published public records, letters, and memoirs: E. R. Restrepo (editor), *Archivo Santander*, 23 vols. (Bogotá, 1914); Vicente Lecuna, *Cartas del Libertador*, 10 vols. (Caracas, 1929-1930); Simon B. O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary*, 32 vols. (Caracas, 1877-1879); Antonio R. Silva, *Documentos para la historia de la diócesis de Mérida*, 6 vols. (Mérida and Caracas, 1908-1927); Academia Nacional de la Historia, *Documentos para los anales de Venezuela desde el movimiento separatista de Colombia hasta nuestros días*, 12 vols. (Caracas, 1890-1909); also in the valuable contemporary histories: José Manuel Restrepo, *Historia de la revolución de la república de Colombia en la América meridional*, 5 vols. (Besançon, 1848); and José Manuel Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil de Nueva Granada*, 5 vols. (Bogotá, 1891); and in the recent studies of Pedro Leturia, especially his *La*

evidenced in the attitude of its representatives in the congresses of Cúcuta and Bogotá, which abolished the inquisition, dissolved the larger convents for men, restricted the jurisdiction of the Church courts, limited the service of the tithe in the interest of agriculture, allowed liberty of worship through a failure to provide for a state Church, and, most important of all, established the civil constitution of the Church in the famous Law of the Patronage of 1824.³

Through the press, the flood of pamphlets, and the agitation of the Masonic organization, its leaders, moreover, were conducting a veritable war on religious intolerance. Santander, vice-president of La Gran Colombia, declared in 1825 that publications coming from Venezuela were causing great alarm in Colombia.⁴ There stands out in this agitation the famous incident of the prosecution of the editor of *La Serpiente de Moisés*, around which anti-clerical opinion was apparently most completely crystallized.⁵ In 1826, a Venezuelan priest was found guilty of sedition for the reprinting of this attack on the Masons, which had been published in Colombia without question. The incident, widely advertized throughout Venezuela, discredited the Church as obscurantist, as an obstacle to international recognition and foreign immigration, so eagerly sought. It was declared in a writing prepared to be presented to the jury: "England and the United States have their eyes on us. This judgment will decide the fate of Co-

acción diplomática de Bolívar ante Pío VII (Madrid, 1925); and of Nicolas E. Navarro, *Anales eclesiásticos venezolanos* (Caracas 1929).

³ In addition to the writings of public men, cited above, much material on the action of these congresses is found in the published records: *vide*, Roberto Cortazar and Luis Cuervo (editors), *Congreso de Cúcuta, Libro de Actas*, Biblioteca de Historia Nacional, vol. XXX. (Bogotá, 1923); and *Congreso de 1823*, vol. XXXVII. (Bogotá, 1926).

⁴ *Archivo Santander*, XIII. 47-48.

⁵ Santana, Miguel (editor), *La Serpiente de Moisés* (Caracas, 1826). In the library of the National Academy of History there is found an excellent collection of pamphlets on the politico-religious controversies of this and later periods, an invaluable source for the study of the history of the church. *La Serpiente de Moisés* and a number of pamphlets provoked by it are included in this collection.

lombia''.⁶ Francisco Zea's praise of the annihilation of *La Serpiente* was spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific, it was said.⁷ Some Venezuelan historians have indeed attributed the ultimate subjection of the Church largely to this incident. Without doubt, the complete defeat of the clergy in it and the loss of prestige it occasioned contributed much toward destroying the power of the institution with an increasing number among the upper classes.

Statements of Pedro Gual, Restrepo, Groot, Páez, and others testify that anti-clericalism in Venezuela was far more advanced than in Colombia.⁸ Páez, warning Bolívar that his reactionary decrees of 1828 favoring the Church would be opposed in Caracas, concluded:

It is useless that I make observations on this; but as there is so much difference between the exercise of the religious power in Bogotá and in Venezuela, I cannot refrain from mentioning it. We have worked much to destroy the horrors of fanaticism and the influence of the

⁶ José de la Natividad Saldanha, *Discurso teológico-político sobre la tolerancia en que se acusa y refuta el escrito titulado "La Serpiente de Moisés."* (Caracas, 1826).

⁷ Miguel Santana, *Día que no se contará entre los de Colombia* (Caracas, 1826).

⁸ Pedro Gual was a leading force in the progress of anti-clericalism in Venezuela, according to Dr. Manuel Segundo Sánchez, who has made a special study of this interesting statesman. As foreign secretary, minister to the United States, and representative of La Gran Colombia in the congress of Panama, he was prepared to view the situation at home from the standpoint of its influence on the status of his country abroad. He was prominent in the promotion of foreign immigration and fostered several projects to that end. While minister of foreign affairs in 1825, he was active in the encouragement of the English Biblical Society, represented in Colombia by James Thompson; and became the first president of the local organization. (J. M. Groot, *Historia eclesiástica y civil*, V. 32 *et seq.*) The work of the society in introducing Bibles in the vernacular was impeded by the priests. In Caracas, opposition to the distribution of Bibles became a chief source of conflict between the clergy and the Masons. (N. E. Navarro, *La Iglesia y la Masonería en Venezuela*, Caracas, 1928, p. 12.) Gual deplored not only the actual interference with foreign interests but the too great absorption in religious disputes and consequent neglect of national needs. Writing to Santander from Panama in 1826, he declared that if the government would get rid of certain reactionary priests and not speak of religion for a few years it would effect a salutary reform (*Archivo Santander*, XIV. 115).

priests on the people; in Venezuela they now rarely meddle with public matters in their ministry. . . . I judge that when you tell me the government is to support religion, it will be with all the delicacy that the enlightenment of an age which prefers, in my opinion, liberty of thought to civil liberty, demands.⁹

The suppression of the teaching of Bentham in national colleges and universities and the substitution of religious studies for it, ordered by Bolívar in answer to popular demand in Colombia, caused more opposition in Venezuela than any of his decrees favoring the Church.¹⁰ No force has operated more persistently against clericalism among this people than the desire to break its control over education and thought and thus to remove from the nation any stigma of obscurantism.

Without being able to account for it fully, Venezuelan historians have been intrigued by the contrast that has come to exist in the position of the Church in these two countries which had administrative connections in the colonial period and close association in the wars for independence and the early years of national history. Through Bolívar's policy of social accommodation, the Church in Colombia regained in the late 1820's most of the influence lost in the early stages of the revolution and is today a prominent social and political power. But opposition to his decrees was one of the forces which promoted the separation of Venezuela from the Colombian union in 1830.¹¹ Since the reaction following the earthquake of 1812, in fact, the Church has not been able to con-

* Simon B. O'Leary, *Memorias del General O'Leary*, II. 149-150.

¹⁰ For example, *vide*, O'Leary, *Memorias*, VIII. 275, 297. Bolívar, in an effort to secure social peace in Colombia upon his return from the south in 1828, sought the aid of the Church. He abrogated the law of 1821 for the extinction of the smaller convents and ordered their reestablishment; restored the chaplaincies and vicars in the army; abolished the teaching of Bentham in national colleges and universities, and placed the Archbishop of Bogotá upon his Council of government; *vide*, J. F. Blanco, and Ramón Azpurúa, *Documentos*, XI. 693-694.

¹¹ It is difficult to evaluate the strength of this factor. Economic, political, and purely personal interests promoted the separation.

solidate any considerable support in Venezuela. Certain uprisings, notably those led by the Monágas brothers in 1831 and 1835 joined, it is true, ecclesiastical with military interests in an effort to attract popular support, but they were unable to secure sufficient strength for success. Without doubt, the Church still possessed much power over the masses in this early national period, but it was never able to arouse them to active resistance in its behalf. No political party or group has ever sponsored the interests of the Church.¹² Instead the two historic parties vied with each other as to their respective contributions to its progressive restriction. Even the clergy has failed to unite in defense of its privileges. There are some notable instances of priests leading in the movement for anti-clerical measures.¹³ The institution has never been able to command the support of its own personnel.

Not only has the Church failed to secure political support; it has also suffered overwhelming loss of social prestige. The priest is told plainly his place is in the Church not in the home. In his observations to the writer, the noted Venezuelan historian and bibliographer, Manuel Segundo Sánchez, emphasized this fact. The story of President Carlos Soublette ordering priests to stay away from his home is still related as typical of the attitude toward the clergy.¹⁴ Under such social disapprobation members of the better families naturally no longer enter the Church. Rarely today is an able man found in its ranks. Monseñor Nicolas Navarro, present dean of the

¹² The Liberal Party, which appeared in 1840, accused its opponent the Conservative Party of defending the interests and the special privileges of the Church, but the charge has no real foundation in fact; *vide* below.

¹³ For example, a radical program was introduced in the congress in 1834, by a priest, Domingo Bruzual; *vide, Reforma de la política eclesiástica* (Caracas, 1834). A leader of the movement for the national control of the patronage was a priest, José Antonio Pérez, author of a famous pamphlet on the subject, *A vosotros cualesquiera que seais, salud* (Caracas, 1851). And there are many other instances of similar action by the clergy. Groot attributed the subjection of the Church in large part to the failure of the clergy, through reasons of patriotism or mere political opportunism, to support its privileges against spoliation by the State.

¹⁴ Nicomedes Zuloaga, *Bibliografías y otros asuntos* (Caracas, 1925).

cathedral church, is an especially notable exception to this rule. He himself admits the deplorable incapacity of the clergy.¹⁵ In 1830, Archbishop Méndez made gloomy predictions of the fatal effects that the campaign of anti-clericalism would have on the personnel of the clergy, predictions that have since been completely fulfilled.¹⁶

Yet interestingly enough there is much in law to suggest that the status of the Church has been and is still high in Venezuela. In contrast to the situation found in most anti-clerical groups, the institution is still established in law and supported by State appropriations. And the clergy have never suffered certain disabilities imposed in other states in which governments have been hostile. Full political privileges have always been allowed them. Until 1870, churchmen were, in fact, prominent in legislative assemblies and in civil office. Bishop Talavera y Garcés, José Félix Blanco, and Archbishop Guevara y Lira held high office as members of the council of state. The unrestricted participation of priests in politics indicates no doubt the assurance of the State that the clergy are politically innocuous. It suggests, too, the strength of the sentiment of equalitarianism in this country, which considers itself in a special sense the heir to the French revolutionary philosophy. All proposals for the establishment of political disabilities have been opposed on this ground. The Church, moreover, has never suffered complete expropriation of its property. Restrictions have at no time been placed on the use of the clerical dress. There has been no attempt to restrict

¹⁵ *Anales eclesiásticos venezolanos* (Caracas, 1929), p. 339 and footnote. He wrote especially of the conditions in the late nineteenth century, but they have not changed much in this particular.

¹⁶ Writing to Santander in 1830, Méndez declared: "This pitiable condition of the Church is what has decreased its ministers, since no one aspires to a state in which he will be the mark of all the malignity of the century, impoverished to the point . . . of beggary, and regarded with utmost scorn. Formerly one parish of this city (Caracas) had more pastors than all of it now. The curacies I have vacant are numberless. . . . Of the wise and respectable clergy I knew there remains merely a remnant; the pastors here today are a crowd of barbarians, except a very few. *Vide, Archivo Santander*, XVIII. 206-207.

the number of priests. Indeed the State has frequently made gestures at least favoring its expansion. The Church has a place in the educational system. There has prevailed, moreover, a peculiar regard on the part of the government, whether that of the anti-clerical oligarchy of 1830 or that of the dictator, Guzmán Blanco, exponent of Masonic fraternalism in 1870, for solemnizing its civil acts and military victories with religious forms—one of those intriguing contradictions in Venezuelan religious evolution that one finds frequently recurring, a sort of reminiscence perhaps of the religiosity of the Spaniard and the colonial. Curiously, the two most serious conflicts between the Church and the State began over the refusal of archbishops to fulfill the orders of the government for such religious ceremonies; namely, the objection of Ramón Ignacio Méndez to celebrating the oath to the constitution of 1830 in the cathedral and that of Silvestre Guevara y Lira to saying a *Te Deum* for the victory of Guzmán Blanco in September, 1870.

As a preface to the analysis of the Church today, a brief outline might be given of its history from 1830 to 1875. Such a survey will go far toward describing its present status in as much as there has been little change since the latter date. Upon its separation from La Gran Colombia, Venezuela re-enacted the famous Law of the Patronage of 1824. In this civil constitution of the clergy, the government assumed the ample powers over the organization and administration of the Church exercised by the Catholic kings under the grants of Popes Alexander VI., Julius II., and Benedict XIV. No political instrument in Venezuela has enjoyed such stability and prestige as this law. In the course of its national history this State has enacted twenty constitutions. It has never changed in any essential feature the Law of the Patronage. It was early spoken of as the law of the Medes and the Persians by its clerical opponents.¹⁷ "It would seem that

¹⁷ *Venezuela al congreso* (Caracas, 1833).

Venezuela exists by reason of the Law of the Patronage", declared Archbishop Méndez in exasperated irony.¹⁸ In 1920, Gómez referred to it as a "classic in our jurisprudence".¹⁹ Under the conservative oligarchy, which governed Venezuela from 1830 to 1846 the policy to be followed in the interpretation of the law—the uncompromising administrative control of the State was established. This was largely the work of A. L. Guzmán, secretary of the interior during a part of this period. Reports on the administration of the Church swell the *Documentos* of the interior department, indicating the importance the government attached to its control.²⁰

The three Venezuelan bishops, who wished to make reservations in taking the oath to the constitution of 1830, were expelled. Although the redoubtable Méndez had been a close friend of Páez, the first president, and his constant companion in the famous campaigns on the Apure, the latter refused to make modifications in his favor. "You must remember you do not cease being a Venezuelan through being an archbishop", he declared.²¹ Allowed to return in 1832 on the condition that he take the oath, Méndez was expelled a second time in 1836 and died in exile. In him, the Church lost an ecclesiastical statesman comparable to those remarkable bishops of the colonial period.²² It was not to see his like

¹⁸ *Contestación dada por disposición del Consejo de Ministros de Bogotá al Arzobispo de Caracas* (Caracas, 1829), p. 21.

¹⁹ Luis Correa, (editor), *El General J. V. Gómez, Documentos para la historia de su gobierno* (Caracas, 1925), p. 47.

²⁰ *Documentos de Secretaría del Interior y Justicia*, *passim*. These unpublished documents, which contain numerous *expedientes* on the Church, are found in the national archives in Caracas.

²¹ José Antonio Páez, *Autobiografía*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1888), II. 156. The controversy with the government is related in *Documentos oficiales que dan justo concepto acerca de la expulsión del Ilmo. Sr. Dr. Ramón Ignacio Méndez* . . . (Caracas, 1830).

²² Certain national historians of Venezuela, imbued with the decided anti-clericalism that has characterized the intelligentsia of that country have presented Archbishop Méndez in a light wholly unfavorable. Gil Fortoul, for example, emphasizes his impetuosity, his irascibility, and his lack of pastoral virtues, giving as support for his interpretation certain incidents in the life of Méndez in which

again. In his defeat the independence of the Church received its deathblow. He foresaw and feared the subordination, even the servility, to which the clergy would be reduced under the prestige of a victorious nation. Passive resistance on the part of other priests to the administrative orders of the government was largely conquered through the persistence of A. L. Guzmán and other secretaries of the interior.

The conservative oligarchy granted liberty of worship, hoping thereby to encourage foreign immigration, its constant concern.²³ It abolished the tithe, dissolved all monasteries for men, denied to priests the right to serve as rectors, vice-rectors, or teachers in national colleges and, with the sanction of the Papacy, reduced the number of feast days in an effort to promote secular interests.²⁴ It established the anomalous

he displayed undoubtedly something of the character of the *llanero*. (*Historia Constitucional de Venezuela*, 2 vols. Caracas, 1930, II. 41 *et seq.*) He quotes, moreover, in support of his view the opinion of the English officer that Méndez was mediocre, ignorant, uneducated, and dissolute (first edition of the *Historia constitucional*, I. 36, note). Such an interpretation fails to find support in his life or in the opinion of contemporaries who had an opportunity to know him. Méndez was a creole of high social status and a doctor of both laws of the University of Caracas. Vargas, as rector of the university, esteemed him a great credit to the institution. Bolívar praised both his patriotism and his theological learning. His discussions on the patronage attracted attention in the literary circles of the Cuervos and Mosqueras of Bogotá, in which knowledge of theology and canon law was of high rank. The list of his writings indicates the extent of his intellectual labor. And his work indicates a familiarity not only with theology, canon law, and church history, but with much of the political and social philosophy of his age and others. He refers frequently to Rousseau and Montesquieu and shows acquaintance with the works of Machiavelli, Pufendorf, Vattel, Siéyès, Constant, William Cobbett, and others. As to his character, Páez commended his moral integrity and austerity, although admitting his defects of disposition. And it should be said that even his warmest apologists recognize that his violence of temper and too great aggressiveness often injured the cause for which he labored.

²³ The renewal of trouble with Méndez after his return in 1832 was due partly to his admonition to his parishioners to avoid contact with foreigners. The British consul, Robert Kerr Porter, sent a long protest to the government against the preaching of Méndez; *vide*, *Documentos de secretaría del interior y justicia*, 1833, I., exp. 31, folios 429-431.

²⁴ *Recopilación de leyes y decretos de Venezuela*, 52 vols. (Caracas, 1874-1930) II. *passim*.

course to be continued by later governments of evading an agreement with the Papacy as to the exercise of the patronage, but of refraining at the same time from declaring a national Church.²⁵

Civil marriage and registry, the abolition of the rule against the use of the clerical dress, and the prohibition of any teaching by priests were other reforms considered.²⁶ Social caution alone probably prevented their enactment. The possible influence of the Church over the masses was still feared. But the oligarchy sought through the press as well as by law to reduce its social power. The reestablishment of missions on the Orinoco was under close government surveillance and for purely utilitarian ends, although the new Liberal Party appearing in 1840 attacked its opponents on this ground as the "Clerical Party". Another occasion for such an attack was the fact that the oligarchy in its regard for vested property rights opposed the reduction of the *censos*, a fixed contribution from landed property that constituted a large part of the income of the Church.

The so-called conservative oligarchy, the most liberal government that Venezuela has ever enjoyed, was possessed by an absorbing eagerness for European enlightenment and for the promotion of utilitarian interests in imitation of England and the United States. These desires, joined with its philosophy of nationalism and equalitarianism, put it in pronounced opposition to the Church. Its definition of the relations of Church and State has been followed throughout Venezuelan history. Later advances in anti-clericalism have been nothing more than the enactment into law of policies advocated at this time. There has been no advance in theory. In contrast to the action of later governments, however, the conservative

²⁵ It might be said in passing that Venezuela has had a unique history in respect to relations with the Papacy as well as in its internal policy toward the Church. It is not possible in this paper to do more than mention the fact.

²⁶ *Vide*, for example, *Reforma de la política eclesiástica* (Caracas, 1834), the report of a committee to the congress.

oligarchy proceeded in its relations with the Church with a scrupulous regard for law and legal forms. Páez, the chieftain of the llanos and the real power behind the government, is unique among dictators in his regard for the law.

There was little legislation on the Church in the period of civil discord from 1848 to 1870. Opinion on the whole favored the adoption of the radical proposals of the oligarchy, especially the establishment of civil marriage and registry and the secularization of cemeteries. The Masons, whose activity, checked by Bolívar's decrees, had revived in the forties, promoted the agitation of these questions. Since the defeat of Méndez, the Church had apparently acquiesced in its subordination, and many churchmen were said to be members of the Masonic order. There occurred in the sixties, however, a considerable recrudescence of a spirit of resistance fostered largely by Antonio de Sucre, archdeacon of the metropolitan church of Caracas, a firebrand fresh from the vigorous Colombian Church.²⁷ Bitter conflict arose over the refusal of certain priests to give Christian burial to members of the Masonic order—a conflict that was to become open war when Guzmán Blanco, protagonist of the Masons, secured dictatorial power in 1870.²⁸ For the time, however, Archbishop Guevara y Lira's policy of accommodation kept the peace and his zeal and beneficence in a time of distress accomplished something toward restoring the social prestige of the bishop's office. He was able to secure the separation of the seminary from the University of Caracas and to arouse some interest in ecclesiastical education.

²⁷ The spirit of resistance to the government and of opposition to the Masons was encouraged also by close contacts with Rome and Pius IX. Guevara was sent by the dictatorial government of Páez to conclude a concordat with the Papacy, a project that came to naught through its rejection by the government in power at the time of its consideration. Boset, Bishop of Mérida, and Sucre also visited Rome.

²⁸ N. E. Navarro, *La iglesia y la masonería en Venezuela*, p. 19; T. B. Ascanio Rodríguez, *Apuntes y documentos para la historia del registro civil en Venezuela* (Caracas, 1925) *passim*.

In an effort to secure personal control in 1870, Guzmán Blanco ordered a *Te Deum* said in the cathedral of Caracas for his victory of September 21 over General Matías Salazar. In his absence from Caracas, it fell upon Diego B. Urbaneja, secretary of the interior, then in charge of affairs at Caracas along with José Ignacio Pulido to see that the order was executed.²⁹ Guevara objected to its fulfillment until amnesty should be declared and political prisoners released. Urbaneja, who had a personal grudge against the archbishop for the refusal of the latter to grant him a marriage dispensation, issued a decree for his immediate exile.³⁰ Although Guzmán Blanco was an exponent of the Masonic revival in Venezuela which looked to further restrictions on the Church, he was most likely not hunting a war with the institution at this time. His power was yet too insecure. At any rate, he attempted with apparent sincerity to secure a change of mind from Guevara.³¹ But the latter, strengthened in his resistance by Archdeacon Sucre, refused to modify his conditions for saying the *Te Deum*, and the order for his exile was executed. Having failed to effect the return of Guevara through the latter's unaccustomed intransigence, Guzmán Blanco, who felt his own prestige endangered through it, declared war on the Church.

Convents for women were abolished, those in Caracas being closed in the midst of unedifying scenes. The seminary of Caracas, which had been fostered with peculiar interest and pride by Guevara, was closed. Civil marriage and registry were established by decree and cemeteries secularized. Primacies were abolished. The Church was denied the right to inherit property, and the clergy, except from relatives within

²⁹ *La Opinión Nacional*, September 28, 1870. The succeeding issues of this semi-official publication, the *Documentos* of the interior department, and the published *Memorias* of the department in 1873 give the records of this controversy.

³⁰ D. B. Urbaneja, *El arzobispo S. Guevara y Lira* (Caracas, 1872); Navarro, *Anales*, p. 245 *et seq.* Urbaneja had also suffered public humiliation at the hands of the archbishop because he was married abroad in disregard of the refusal of the archbishop to grant the dispensation.

³¹ *Documentos, Memoria del Interior* (1873), pp. 69-77.

the fourth degree. Severe penal laws were set up in the new code of 1873 against clergymen who opposed the execution of the law of the patronage or any part of the ecclesiastical legislation. The marriage of the clergy was allowed through a decree abolishing the restriction, but this was soon withdrawn. Earlier, in 1870, Guzmán Blanco had issued a decree for the redemption of the *censos* depriving the clergy thereby of its chief source of income.³²

Between the proscription by the dictator of all who gave cognizance to the orders of the archbishop and the suspension by the latter of those who submitted to the decrees of the government, the ecclesiastical organization was completely paralyzed. It became an *idée fixe* of Guzmán Blanco to secure by any means possible the vacancy of the archbishopric. Guevara persisted in his refusal to resign. Guzmán Blanco reluctantly sought assistance from the Papacy, threatening at the same time to establish a national Church independent of Rome.³³ But the resignation of Guevara was finally secured apparently through the persuasion of Pius IX.³⁴ At any rate, the prestige of the dictator was saved. He had won his point and could claim a complete victory over the Church.

In this conflict with Guzmán Blanco, the Church lost the integrity that had been restored, somewhat at least, by Guevara. Its ministers were reduced to servility or driven into exile. They were in some instances made objects of

³² *Recopilación de leyes y decretos*, V. and VI., *passim*.

³³ *Mensajes presentados por el General Guzmán Blanco como presidente provisional de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela al congreso de plenipotenciarios en 1870 y como presidente constitucional al cuerpo legislativo en 1873*, 74, 75, 76 (Caracas, 1876), p. 30 and *passim*.

³⁴ Some have held that there was misrepresentation of the Papacy by the delegate, Roque Cocchia, occasioned by his being bribed by Guzmán Blanco. This question is discussed by Antonio Parejo, the representative of Guzmán Blanco to Roque Cocchia, in his *Al público—hechos históricos en relación con la cuestión religiosa en los años de 1875 y 1876* (Caracas, 1896); also in *El Tiempo*, "Suplemento", October 13, 1896; Domingo A. Olavarría, *Estudios históricos-políticos*, (Valencia, 1894). Parejo and Olavarría defend Roque Cocchia from the charge of corruption, although Parejo holds that Guzmán Blanco attempted to bribe him.

public indignity that destroyed any prestige or respect that still adhered to the office. Masonic activity promoted by the director in his program of so-called "national regeneration" discredited the Church as obscurantist, as an obstacle to material and educational progress. Never before had the institution been subjected to such unrestrained criticism. The conservative oligarchy had destroyed its intellectual influence over the upper classes. Guzmán Blanco reduced it to ineffectiveness even with the masses.

There has been little, if any, improvement in the status of the Church since 1875. With the exception of the law abolishing seminaries the anti-clerical legislation of Guzmán Blanco remains unchanged. The Church has gained something perhaps in institutional discipline through closer contacts with the Papacy whose representation has been continued in Venezuela since 1876. But this contact has involved no relaxation in the strict surveillance of the State under the Law of the Patronage. The Church has not regained in any appreciable degree economic strength nor social influence. Such concessions as have been made to it for participation in education and public welfare suggest rather the magnanimity, euphemistically speaking, of a supreme power toward a conquered rival from whom resistance is no longer to be feared; they are, in fact, the surest evidences of the complete subjection of the institution. Nor does the State need to proceed cautiously in its relations with the Church as it once considered advisable through fear of potential popular support of the institution; its preponderance of power is as complete in fact as in law. On occasion, it is true, the unstable religious sentiments of this people are stirred to demonstrations of interest and even enthusiasm, as they were, for example, by the return of Guevara in 1877. But such expressions of interest are always ephemeral. The accustomed attitude is one of indifference or contempt.

The constitutions of 1893, 1904, 1909, 1914, 1922, and 1928 contain little reference to religion except in the grant of lib-

erty of worship. There is, indeed, slight occasion for any statements on the Church in the organic law; the Law of the Patronage requires no amplification. All the constitutions mentioned declared the nation to be in possession of the right of the patronage and state that its exercise shall be according to the law of 1824.

Rójas Paúl, president from 1889 to 1891, showed some favor to the Church. He had been a secretary of the interior under Guzmán Blanco during the conflict with Guevara. Now, however, he was in opposition to the dictator. According to the interpretation of González Guinán, the attitude assumed toward the Church in his administration resulted from the desire to attack the government of his predecessor rather than from a real concern for ecclesiastical interests.³⁵ In February, 1890, the remains of Guevara were removed at the expense of the national treasury from El Valle and deposited in great state in the cathedral.³⁶ There was a week of celebration in honor of the victim of the dictator.

By an executive resolution of January 11, 1889, it was ordered that eighteen sisters of charity be brought to Caracas with two chaplains to serve them. These were destined for work in the Institutes of Public Beneficence. Fifty *bolívars* (about ten dollars) were apportioned as the monthly salary of each.³⁷ This was the beginning of a policy continued to the present, of bringing, or allowing the entrance, of Catholic sisters for work in education and public welfare. Today there are sixteen "congregations" of women engaged in such activities.³⁸ No change has been made, however, in the law against convents. These groups as well as the groups of men admitted for missionary work form associations without legal recognition.

A beginning was made in law in this administration look-

³⁵ Francisco González Guinán, *Historia del gobierno del Doctor J. P. Rójas Paúl* (Valencia, 1891), pp. 396, 445.

³⁶ *Leyes y decretos*, XIV. 319.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, XIV. 180.

³⁸ Navarro, *Anales*, pp. 404-410.

ing to the revival of the missions for the reduction of the Indians. In an executive resolution of October 27, 1890, authority was given the archbishop to bring fifty Spanish regulars for service in the mission.³⁹ Due regard was to be paid to the Law of the Patronage and the prohibition of convents. The missionaries were to be paid passage and one hundred *bolivares* a month. Under this order eight missionaries were sent to the Orinoco region, but nothing was accomplished toward reduction.⁴⁰ By a formal law of May 12, 1894, a system of missions, to be under the Spanish Capuchins,⁴¹ was outlined. Further elaboration and extension was made to the law of the missions in 1915 under the administration of Pedro Arcaya as secretary of the interior.⁴² He has shown much interest in the promotion of the work. Through his recommendation, the national government published in 1928 a grammar of the dialect of the famous Guaraunos Indians compiled by the missionary, Father Olea.⁴³ This work recalls the ancient studies of R  iz Blanco and Rivero; the need for such a study suggests the failure of the national government in reducing the Indians to civil life. The work of the Capuchin missionaries continues, but progress has been slow and uncertain.⁴⁴ Arcaya alone, it seems, has shown personal concern for the work.

An executive decree of September 28, 1900, provided for the re  establishment of the seminary of Caracas. License was granted also for the establishment of such schools in other episcopal centers. Seminaries may grant the bachelor of phi-

³⁹ *Leyes y decretos*, XV. 192.

⁴⁰ Melchor de Escoriaza, *Cr  nica de las misiones capuchinas en Venezuela, Puerto Rico, y Cuba* (Caracas, 1910).

⁴¹ *Leyes y decretos*, XVII. 219-220.

⁴² *Ibid.*, XXXVIII. 154-155.

⁴³ Bonifacio M. de Olea, *Ensayo gramatical del dialecto de los indios guaraunos* (Caracas, 1928).

⁴⁴ It is interesting to note that this order so furiously attacked by civil authorities in the late colonial period has been again entrusted with the work on the Orinoco. No other agency has had any success in efforts toward reduction of the natives of this region to civil life.

losophy degree.⁴⁵ In spite of the efforts of certain churchmen and representatives of the Papacy to promote this work, slight interest is shown in ecclesiastical education. Religious instruction may be given in the public schools if the parents of ten children of the same faith desire it, such instruction to be restricted to one or two hours a week.⁴⁶ Complaints have been made that the execution of this decree has been impeded by inspectors hostile to the Church.⁴⁷ Church schools exist but occupy a minor place in secondary education. Ninety per cent of those in schools are in public school.⁴⁸ All schools are under government supervision.

The organization of the Church in Venezuela has been expanded considerably under the administration of Gómez. In 1923, four new bishoprics were erected and that of Mérida was raised to an archbishopric.⁴⁹ The number of prebends has been increased. In spite of this enlarged organization and the reestablishment of seminaries, the personnel of the Church is still sadly deficient, particularly in the interior. In answer to a complaint made against him in 1915 for allowing foreign priests to serve in his diocese, the Bishop of Guayana protested that he had no other pastors to fill the parishes.⁵⁰ The government has continuously found it necessary to allow foreign priests to enter or let the parishes lie vacant. It does so with reluctance, however, fearing that they will oppose the subordination to which the native priests have become accustomed. All foreign ecclesiastics must be naturalized. Deportations of those who fail to comply with this rule are common.⁵¹

The national support of the Church is very meager. In

⁴⁵ Navarro, *Anales*, pp. 397-400.

⁴⁶ *Leyes y decretos*, XL. 16.

⁴⁷ *Memoria de relaciones interiores* (1922), p. 159 *et seq.*

⁴⁸ *Documentos de la memoria de instrucción pública* (1910), p. 489. The percentage in church schools is probably less today.

⁴⁹ *Memoria de relaciones interiores* (1915), p. 237 *et seq.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Memorias del interior*, *passim*.

1930, the appropriation for it was only 442,568 *bolivares*, approximately \$90,000.⁵² This is less than the average in the first half of the nineteenth century. The prohibitions placed on the right of the Church to inherit property have not been repealed. Although there has never been a complete expropriation of the property of the Church by the State, the institution today possesses little. According to a report of the secretary of the interior in 1916 its property, exclusive of church buildings, was evaluated at 2,290,828 *bolivares* (about \$450,000).⁵³ This estimate did not include the possessions of the Church in several of the interior states, but its holdings in these are probably much less than in those from which reports came. The Church receives only slight and uncertain support through voluntary contributions from the faithful, owing to its loss of social power.

The meagerness of the public documents on the Church today as compared to earlier decades, notably that of the 1830's, suggests the reduced importance of the institution as a political and administrative problem. There still occur on occasion, however, difficulties with churchmen. In 1929, the Bishop of Valencia was expelled for criticism of the law of civil matrimony.⁵⁴ Under personalist rule, moreover, one is subject to proscription for disparaging observations upon the character of the dictator. According to the account of Pocaterra, a layman proscribed by Gómez, the dictator's treatment of the lower clergy has been ruthless . . . He declares,

Gómez, as head of the State has behaved more disrespectfully toward the Church than any of his predecessors. The exile of Archbishop Guevara by Guzmán Blanco about which so much fuss has been made is insignificant compared to the crime of Juan Vicente. . . . Gómez exiled Father Oraa, he poisoned Father Ramírez and Father Franquíz, and the venerable priests, Mendoza and Monteverde have been kept in irons for the last eight years in La Rotunda. . . . To satisfy

⁵² *Leyes y decretos*, LII, 198-200.

⁵³ *Memoria de relaciones interiores* (1916), p. 410 et seq.

⁵⁴ *Leyes y decretos*, LII, 455.

a horde of scheming priests, Gómez scatters a handful of bishoprics and canonships and the Venezuelan clergy headed by their archbishop grovel . . . to fight over them. After which they proceed to draw up pastoral letters and articles for the religious press in praise of public morals and the State.⁵⁵

Although the Gómez administration cannot yet be subjected to adequate appraisal, the writer judges from observations made to her by foreign residents in Venezuela that the statements of Pocaterra are probably not greatly exaggerated, although his comparison of this dictatorship with the Guzmán Blanco régime may be unduly favorable to the latter. Proscriptions have not been confined to members of the lower clergy, however, as Pocaterra implies; not all the higher clergy is subservient. In 1930, the Bishop of Mérida was expelled for a criticism of the private life of the dictator. His expulsion was executed with personal indignities of the crudest character.⁵⁶

One feature of the anti-clerical legislation of Guzmán Blanco has occasioned recently considerable discussion: namely, the law of civil matrimony. Some free thinkers and liberals, notably the sociologists, Pedro Arcaya and Vallenilla Lanz, favor a modification of the law as a means of encouraging legal unions. To the restrictions placed on the method for formalizing marriage, they attribute the widespread lack of legal regularization of matrimonial unions in Venezuela where two-thirds of the children are born illegitimate.⁵⁷ Although they do not oppose civil matrimony they advocate extending to

⁵⁵ José Rafael Pocaterra, *Gómez, the Shame of America* (Paris, 1929), p. 136.

⁵⁶ *Memoria de relaciones interiores* (1930), p. 603. This gives only a petition of the bishops for his return, a request, which the government regarded "with pained surprise". The occasion for the expulsion and other details concerning it were given the writer in conversation with residents of Venezuela.

⁵⁷ Alejandro Pietri, *El código civil de 1916* (Caracas, 1916), pp. vii-xxi. The introduction to this code gives Arcaya's project for the reform of the law presented to the commission for the revision of the code. For the views of Vallenilla Lanz, vide, *Revista de derecho y legislación*, IV. (July 1, 1915), 212-217.

the clergy the privilege of giving legal recognition to the union. Arcaya states that although concubinage has been common in Venezuela from colonial times, such unions were usually soon formalized; the censures of the Church were effective in bringing this about.⁵⁸ Vallenilla Lanz points to the incongruous situation which exists whereby a churchman may belong to the Council of State whose incumbents can perform the marriage ceremony, although as a priest he does not possess the right. Any revision of the civil code that would extend the right to the clergy has been bitterly opposed, however, and no change has been made nor does it seem probable that any will be made.⁵⁹

All Venezuelan historians and publicists admit the progressive decline of the Church from the late colonial period to the present. None is able to explain quite satisfactorily its almost complete loss of social power. Vallenilla Lanz attributes the loss to the popularity in Venezuela of French philosophy—the sentiments of nationalism and equalitarianism. He calls attention to the fact that there has never existed in Venezuelan political life an organized class interest, of birth, wealth, military group, or other with which the Church might have identified itself in defense of special privileges.⁶⁰ Na-

⁵⁸ Pedro Arcaya, "La evolución de matrimonio en Venezuela", *Revista de Derecho y Legislación*, IV. 219 *et seq.*

⁵⁹ The revision of the civil code in 1916 brought forth the opposing views on the question of modifying the law of civil matrimony. The commission was divided on the question. Alejandro Pietri, editor of *Revista de derecho y legislación*, stated that there was considerable support for the modification by the press. In the senate, however, there was strong opposition to any change that would favor the clergy. Gil Fortoul led in this. He proposed that marriage by teachers be allowed (*Discursos y palabras, 1910-1915*, pp. 233-244). In the lower house he was ably supported by Crespo Vivas (*Conversaciones parlamentarias*, Caracas, 1917, p. 7 *et seq.*); Ascanio Rodríguez, *Apuntes*, pp. v-xv). They advocated also suppressing the restriction on the matrimony of the clergy. Zuloaga in the revisory commission expressed views in agreement with those of these extreme liberals.

⁶⁰ Laureano Vallenilla Lanz, *Críticas de sinceridad y exactitud* (Caracas, 1920), p. 401 *et seq.*

varro, the leading clerical student of the institution, emphasizes the reduction of economic power as a chief factor in the decline.⁶¹ Although it has suffered loss, it should be noted that the Church in Venezuela has never been wealthy as compared to the institution in many other parts of Spanish America. In fact, in attempting to explain the decline of the Church in Venezuela, one is forced to admit that it never took such deep roots here. Humboldt, Depons, Restrepo, and others writing in the late colonial and early national periods noted this fact. Like other interests in Tierra Firme it suffered the neglect of Spain, which was more pronounced here than in other parts of the empire. Its organization and personnel were sadly deficient as compared to the Church in Mexico, Peru, Chile, or Colombia. It was, moreover, like the political organization of Venezuela, more thoroughly decentralized; only in 1803 was it united in law under the archbishopric of Caracas. Decentralization in fact and consequent lack of discipline continued to exist. Geographic conditions and the low state of Indian civilization which made "reduction" difficult, impeded its progress. Apparently, the Church occupied, however, a place of social predominance until the late eighteenth century. But bitter *competencias* with the civil authorities for political place led to a determination on the part of the local administration to break its power.⁶² Terrero, a churchman writing in the late eighteenth century, noted that members of the better families were going into the army or the profession of law rather than into the Church; the priesthood, he regretted, was coming to be filled with "men of no note and obscure birth" who took the places to make their fortunes and clothe themselves with an authority superior to their merit".⁶³ Depons declared that property was no longer being left to

⁶¹ Navarro, Article on the Venezuelan Church in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

⁶² Admirably described by Aristides Rójas in his *Leyendas históricas de Venezuela*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1890-1891).

⁶³ Blas José Terrero, *Teatro de Venezuela y Caracas* (Caracas, 1926), p. 69 et seq.

the Church.⁶⁴ And Humboldt observed that European rationalistic philosophy found a readier reception in Venezuela.⁶⁵ The fact that the Church had never struck such deep roots here made it easier for the liberalizing movement of the wars for independence to destroy its power.

The majority of the Venezuelan intelligentsia regard the reduction of the influence of the Church as a cause for national congratulation. A few, however, hold a different view. Arcaaya and Vallenilla Lanz, for example, attribute not only the irregular matrimonial unions, but other social ills to the loss of moral predominance by the Church. Without advocating its restoration to political place they would like to see it regain social power. "In the psychological state of our people", Vallenilla Lanz asserts, "religion and morals are so closely united that to destroy the one is to attack fatally the other".⁶⁶

Some believe that the next step in Venezuela anti-clericalism will be the separation of Church and State. Gil Fortoul, a leading liberal, has been a foremost advocate of such action. He is supported in this view by certain other extreme liberals, notably Raúl Crespo, Bruzual López, and Razetti.⁶⁷ Bruzual López declares that the Venezuelan people would regard with impassivity the disestablishment of the Church.⁶⁸ There has been since 1830 some sentiment in support of such a policy; it has, however, always been slight. Anti-clerical opinion in Venezuela has rather insisted on the union as the means whereby the State can best maintain surveillance over the

⁶⁴ F. R. J. Depons, *A Voyage to the Eastern Part of Tierra Firme* . . . 3 vols. (New York, 1806), II. 116 *et seq.*

⁶⁵ Alexander de Humboldt and Aimé Bonpland, *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*. 6 vols. (London, 1819), III. 472, and *passim*.

⁶⁶ Vallenilla Lanz, *Críticas*, p. 421.

⁶⁷ Raúl Crespo, *La libertad religiosa y separación de la iglesia y el estado* (Caracas, 1906).

⁶⁸ Quoted in Nicolás Navarro, *Tres refutaciones con motivos de otras tantas conferencias anti-católicas patrocinados por la masonería de Caracas, 1909-1910* (Caracas, 1910), p. 29.

Church. Lisandro Alvarado has expressed no doubt the sentiment of the majority of Venezuelans in opposing separation.⁶⁹ The Law of the Patronage has remained the most stable political instrument in Venezuela.

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⁶⁹ *El Tiempo*, April 2, 1910.

DOCUMENT

CREASSY'S PLAN FOR SEIZING PANAMA, WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ACCOUNT OF BRITISH DESIGNS ON PANAMA

British efforts to wrest Panama and adjacent regions from the Spaniards form one of the most important chapters in the history of the isthmus. Spain was not long able to enjoy the undisputed possession of Castilla del Oro, although it was the first European occupant. The Darien coasts soon began to suffer from the attacks of late comers who schemed, plotted, and fought to gain a foothold on the Spanish mainland. The most dangerous and most persistent in their efforts to capture the isthmus were the English.

Spain itself was not slow to appreciate the value of Panama. It had become a most important area by the middle of the sixteenth century.¹ It was a necessary base for Pizarro's Peruvian venture, and occupied a central position in Spain's colonial empire. Being the midway point between western Europe and eastern Asia, Panama became one of the wealthiest cities in the new world. The treasure train which wound across the isthmus route probably excited as much envy as the old caravans from the orient.² The city of Panama, founded in 1519, was described ten years later by Herrera as "a town of six hundred house holders" and in 1581 Philip entitled it "muy noble y muy real".

Early explorers of Panama were searching for the mysterious Anian Strait and a quick route to India. Explorations proved that no strait existed. The way to the orient was barred by a narrow strip of land. The idea of cutting the isth-

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *History of Central America* (San Francisco, 1883), II. 249-250.

² *Ibid.*, II.

mus by a canal, however, developed almost as soon as the discovery was made. Henceforth, the possibility of constructing an artificial strait at Panama added greatly to the natural strategic importance of the isthmus.

In 1529, Alvaro de Saavedra Cerón, who had been to the isthmus with Balboa, suggested the desirability of a canal. He prepared plans but died before he was able to interest the king of Spain.³ This early proposal, as well as others which came later, failed to gain actual support of the Spanish Government.⁴ During the latter years of Philip's reign⁵ any suggestion in regard to a canal at Panama was viewed with disfavor, since the king believed that a route from sea to sea might appear too attractive to his new maritime enemies. So real was his fear that he decreed a death penalty for any one who attempted to improve the existing route across the isthmus. His orders apparently were conscientiously executed long after his reign, since an official document written by Dionysius Alceda, governor of Panama in 1743, contained the

³ Antonio Galvano, *The Discoveries of the World* (Hakluyt Society Publication, London, 1862), pp. 170-180.

⁴ During this early period four possible canal routes were discussed and surveyed. The first "by the lake of Nicaragua, which is distant but three or four leagues from the shore of the South Sea, and communicates with the opposite sea by a river or canal (called El Desaguadero), which is navigable for large barks, but with some dangerous falls. The second by the river De Chagre, which rises within four leagues of Panama, and discharges itself into the sea on the north side of the isthmus, near an island called Bastimento, where there is a safe port. The third, up the river Vera Cruz in the Gulf of Mexico, and by a route which had on several occasions been used by the Spaniards to Tecoaatepeque. The fourth was by opening a road from Nombre de Dios, across the isthmus to Panama, which was reckoned a distance of seventeen leagues." Captain James Burney, *A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea* (London, 1803), I. 163-164.

⁵ In the early years of his reign Philip II. showed marked enthusiasm for the canal scheme and in 1567, he sent Batista Antonelli, an engineer, to survey possible routes. The engineer examined the Nicaragua route, but his report was so unfavorable that the king lost interest. He was further discouraged by the ecclesiastical advice of José de Acosta, the Jesuit historian, who crossed the isthmus in 1570 en route to Peru. He reported to Philip that the idea of a canal was not only impossible but that it was contrary to the deliberations of the Creator.

following observation regarding the Chagres River: "The navigation of this river is very properly prohibited under pain of death owing to the facility it affords for passing from the Atlantic to the Pacific oceans".⁶

The enemies whom Philip feared most were the English. Although nominally at peace, Elizabeth was not to be trusted. She was plotting "to deal Spain and Catholicism as underhanded a blow as those being constantly directed against England and Protestantism by King Philip".⁷ When Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, reminded the queen that her favorite, Drake, was trespassing on Spain's possessions, she maintained the right to send ships to the South Sea on the assumption that the use of the sea and the air was "exposed to all". English attacks centered on the new world since Drake, "a man of great spirit and fitt to undertake matters",⁸ had often "told her Majestie of the smale good that was to be done in Spayne, but the only waye was to annoy hym [i.e., Philip] by his Indyees".⁹

Drake's first activities on the isthmus were undertaken for reprisals and personal gain at a time when England and Spain were supposedly at peace. In the years 1570 and 1571 Drake reconnoitred Panama and established a secret base on the Gulf of Darien from which he captured many Spanish ships. He took Nombre de Dios¹⁰ by surprise in 1572, entered into friendly relations with the wild *Cimarrones* of the isthmus, made attacks upon the treasure trains, and returned to England with much plunder after an absence of fifteen months.¹¹

John Oxenham, formerly one of Drake's men, went back

⁶ William L. Scruggs, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics, with Notes on other Parts of Central and South America* (Boston, 1905), p. 13.

⁷ Zelia Nuttall, *New Light on Drake* (London, 1914), p. xxxi.

⁸ Thomas Maynarde, *Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1849), p. 4.

⁹ Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. xxxii.

¹⁰ Julian S. Corbett, *Drake and the Tudor Navy* (London, 1899), I. 144-168.

¹¹ *The Life of the Celebrated Sir Francis Drake*, Reprint from the *Biographia Britannica* (London, 1828), pp. 6-7.

to Darien in 1575 with a vessel of his own. He led his men, seventy in number, across the isthmus to the Pacific where a boat was constructed. After capturing two treasure ships from Peru the band set out on the return journey but was surprised and captured. Eventually all were put to death by the Spaniards. Oxenham was emulated by Andrew Barker of Bristol who, with two barks, did considerable damage to Spanish shipping in the vicinity of Cartagena and Nombre de Dios. He in turn was followed by many pirates and privateers.¹²

Drake's last voyages to the Spanish Main and the isthmus were episodes in the war between England and Spain which began in 1585 and lasted until Queen Elizabeth's death. Commanding a fleet, he attacked Cartagena in 1586 and captured it with the aid of a body of soldiers led by Christopher Carleill. The city was held for six weeks and Drake even contemplated its permanent occupation. Plans were made to attack Panama, but sickness and heavy losses of men forced a return to England. After a period of English reverses Drake was despatched again with a fleet to strike a blow at Panama.¹³ Upon arrival, the English found "the enemy fully prepared" and learned that "the treasure had been carefully conveyed away".¹⁴ Nevertheless, Drake was able to take Río de la Hacha, Santa Marta, and Nombre de Dios in 1595. A force under Sir Thomas Baskerville marched across the isthmus to assault the city of Panama. The Spaniards, however, had so strengthened their fortifications that the English were driven back.¹⁵ The plan to capture the isthmus came to an unsuc-

¹² According to a Spanish document written in 1679, the march across the isthmus was accomplished by the "arch pirates, Juan Quartem, Eduardo Blomar, and Bartholome Charpes" (Scruggs, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

¹³ Samuel Clark, *The Life and Death of the valiant and renowned Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1671), pp. 64-69.

¹⁴ *Lives and Voyages of Drake, Cavendish, and Dampier* (New York, 1839), p. 120.

¹⁵ John Barrow, *The Life, Voyages, and Exploits of Admiral Sir Francis Drake* (London, 1848), pp. 397-398.

cessful end when Drake, its originator, died on January 27th, 1596, at Nombre de Dios.

The activities of *El Draque* did much to crush Spain's sea power; but he was not the only seeker for the "Keys of the World". There were many others after his day; but the "worst and greatest" was Henry Morgan. With his Brethren of the Coast he captured and plundered both Panama and Puerto Bello. His sack of Panama completely destroyed the city and during the latter part of 1671 the Spanish Government ordered that a new city be built on a "site that could be so strongly fortified as to render it impregnable". The place selected was about two leagues from the former city, and at the foot of Ancón hill. Surrounding the town was a wall from twenty to forty feet high, and "so costly were the works that the council of Spain, when auditing the accounts, wrote to inquire whether the fortifications of Panama were of silver or gold".¹⁶

All the fortifications and precautions proved ineffectual; Panama was a magnet, and filibusters flocked to the South Sea, for here they believed it possible to win great riches.¹⁷ As one adventurer wrote:

That which often spurs men on to the undertaking of the most difficult Adventures, is the sacred hunger of Gold; and 'twas Gold was the bait that tempted a Pack of merry Boys of us, near Three Hundred in Number, being all Souldiers of Fortune, under Command . . . of Captain John Coxon.¹⁸

¹⁶ H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II. 517.

¹⁷ In 1673, Thomas Peche, an English privateer, fitted out a ship in England to engage in piratical activities against Spain in the South Sea. The viceroy of Peru, hearing of the appearance of foreign ships near the Chilean coast, sent Don Antonio de Vea to make an observation. He sailed as far as the Strait of Magellan but no enemy vessels were sighted. After the loss of one ship and sixteen men, Vea returned after an absence of three years. Captain James Burney, *History of the Buccaneers in America* (London, 1816), p. 75.

¹⁸ Captain Bartholomew Sharp, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth Sharp and Others in the South Sea* (London, 1684), pp. 1-2.

The buccaneering activities in the South Seas, which damaged Spain's commerce and caused it to disapprove all suggestions for a transoceanic canal, created among the English a great interest in the Spanish Main and the isthmus.¹⁹ The Brethren of the Coast were not all adventurers on their own. Many of them were staunch Englishmen who sought to extend British power. Some of them wrote memoirs²⁰ which attracted the attention of men in England who had influence at court and who realized how significant a possession Panama would be for Great Britain.

The appearance of reminiscences of such men as Bartholomew Sharp, Alexander Exquemeling, and Lionel Wafer, made popular the desire to wrest strategic Panama from the Spaniards and thereby place the mother country in an enviable international position. Some enthusiastic schemes, drawn up when England and Spain were at war, actually secured the patronage of the government; others remained as essays to be forgotten for a time in museums or in archives and to be discovered centuries later.

¹⁹ The first significant attempt to reproduce the Morgan drama was made in 1675 by a French buccaneer, Captain La Sound. Accompanied by approximately one hundred and twenty men and friendly Indians, he endeavored to march overland to the South Sea. His party reached Chepo, but was driven back by Sargento Mayor D. Alonzo de Alcandate. During the year 1679, Puerto Bello was taken by the combined forces of one French and two English vessels. They cast anchor "at such a distance from the town, that it occupied them three nights in travelling" to their goal. Two hundred buccaneers marched to Puerto Bello and remained for two days, which was spent collecting plunder to the amount of one hundred and sixty pieces of eight to each man. On April 5, 1680, approximately three hundred and thirty-one pirates, including Sawkins, Coxon, Sharp, Cook, Bournano, Dampier, Ringrose, Olivier, Exquemeling, and Wafer, landed at Darien, "each man provided with 4 cakes of bread, called doughboys, with a fusil, a pistol and a hanger". On the 19th of April, they sailed into Panama bay but did not attack the city because "discord broke out among the buccaneers". Burney, *op. cit.*, p. 91; Alexander O. Exquemeling, *The Buccaneers of America* (London, 1684), p. 276.

²⁰ Among these memoirs are the following: Captain Bartholomew Sharp, *The Voyages and Adventures of Capt. Barth Sharp and Others in the South Sea* (London, 1684); Alexander O. Exquemeling, *The Buccaneers of America* (London, 1684); Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London, 1699).

Such works are worthy of some attention. Although rash in many instances, they indicate the trend of public opinion in England and show an intimate knowledge of Spain's colonial empire in the new world. All the schemes were designed to break the mercantile power of Spain and to extend British trade and empire.

Many of the plans were merely war-time suggestions for general attacks upon the most strategic of Spain's possessions in America; but some of the projects definitely contained the idea of a Panama Canal, and used it to strengthen their arguments for British seizure of the isthmus. One of the earliest schemes of the latter class was that of William Paterson, a native of Scotland and the founder of the Bank of England. He had been greatly attracted by the accounts of the privateers. His essay, *Central America*, in which he outlines his plans, was written in 1701. It was found in the British Museum and published in 1857 with an introduction by Saxe Bannister.

Paterson was interested in destroying Spain's commercial monopoly in the West Indies and establishing England in the new world. He, like many Englishmen, considered the isthmus and the West Indies as "doors of the seas and the keys of the universe", which would enable Great Britain "to give laws to both oceans, and to become arbitrators of the commercial world, without being liable to the fatigues, expenses and dangers, or of contracting such guilt and blood as Alexander and Caesar".

In his description of the interoceanic routes over the American continent, or "passes", as he designates them, he includes the following information regarding the "Pass of Chagre":

The first of the passes is that of the before-mentioned river of Chagre; the which, although it is barred, as are almost all those upon this coast by reason of the contrary or interfering winds, tides, and currents, yet is not the bar such, but that ships of two or three hun-

dred tons may go in and out; and, when in, there is safe riding under a very strong and almost inaccessible castle. The convenience of the water carriage of this river continues for about eighteen Spanish, or twenty-two French leagues, to a place called Venta Crucis. From Venta Crucis to Panamá, upon the South Sea, there is by land about eight short French leagues, six whereof is so level that *a canal might easily be cut through*, and the other two leagues are not so very high and impracticable ground, but that a cut might likewise be made were it in these places of the world.

Paterson's plans failed, first because the trading company which he organized was opposed by the East India Company, and second because the Darien Colony²¹ of 1,200 Scotchmen could not survive the climate nor the hostility of the Indians and the Spaniards.²² It is possible that Paterson's project might have fared better had he the support of the English government. His colony, however, was organized before the union of Scotland and England. If the Darien colony had been planted after 1707, it is probable that England would have supported the project with commercial and naval facilities.

England's designs on Panama were not only furthered by filibusters and patriotic individuals whom the government

²¹ For a description of the Darien Colony see: *The Darien Papers* (Edinburgh, 1849); Robert Ferguson, *A Just and Modest Vindication of the Scots Design for the Having Established a Colony at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699); Walter Harris, *The Defense of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699); Sir Paul Ricaut, *The Original Papers and Letters Relating to the Scots Company* (Edinburgh, 1700); *An Inquiry into the Causes of the Miscarriage of the Scot's Colony at Darien* (Glasgow, 1700); Francis Russell Hart, *The Disaster of Darien* (Boston, 1929). The last mentioned reference gives an excellent description of the Darien venture and includes an interesting selection of Spanish documents and letters secured for the most part from the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain.

²² Bancroft's opinion of Paterson was not complimentary. He wrote that "Paterson was either knave or fool; having been both preacher and pirate, he may have been both fool and knave. It was impossible for him to have explored the Isthmus as he claimed and not to know that the climate was deadly, and that to the wild-hilander, fresh from the cold north, the harbors of Darien could prove nothing but pestholes, breeding swift destruction". *History of Central America*, II. 571.

usually refused to recognize; European wars also had their repercussions in the new world and England always fought to crush the already declining commercial power of Spain. From the time of Drake, whether in wars, piratical adventures, or private schemes, Panama always seemed to be the objective of the English.

The Treaty of Utrecht contained an agreement, called the *Asiento*, which gave England the exclusive right to sell negroes in Spain's colonies and to send annually one ship of five hundred tons to trade at Puerto Bello. With the negotiation of this treaty England gained compensation for its participation in the war and finally secured a legal right to establish itself commercially at the isthmus.²³

The *Asiento*, with its very restricted privileges,²⁴ merely encouraged England, and the War of Jenkin's Ear offered another opportunity to weaken Spain's power. Despite the fact that Walpole did not favor the war, prior to its declaration plans were made to attack the isthmus, and Admiral Edward Vernon was ordered to the West Indies in command of a strong fleet. On November 22, 1739, Puerto Bello was taken and its fortifications destroyed. During the following year Cartagena and Chagres were attacked.

A British squadron was despatched to the Pacific in 1740 under the command of Captain George Anson with the expectation that it would be able to coöperate with Vernon in the operations at the isthmus.²⁵ British plans aimed at the permanent severance of Spain's American possessions. If the account of Anson's voyage, written by Richard Walter,

²³ James A. Williamson, *A Short History of British Expansion* (London, 1922), p. 337. H. W. V. Temperley, "The Relations of England with Spanish America, 1720-1744", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1911, I. 231-237.

²⁴ English commercial houses paid little attention to the limitation expressed in the *Asiento*. Generally a large ship was accompanied by several smaller ships which remained near Puerto Bello and replaced the merchandise as it was unloaded.

²⁵ Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II. 592.

chaplain of the flagship, can be credited, high hopes of conquest were entertained.²⁶ The isthmus was to be used as a base for further operations. Discontent among the population warranted the hope that Chile might be made into an independent state under British protection. The poor equipment of Anson's fleet and heavy losses by pestilence among Vernon's men were largely responsible for one more failure by England to capture the "Keys of the World".

During the American War of Independence, Great Britain demonstrated its intention to possess an interoceanic route. On this occasion, however, its designs seemed to have shifted. In 1780, Horatio Nelson, one of Great Britain's naval heroes, attempted to hold the Nicaragua route, "but did little more than impair his own health".

British interests in the new world, and especially in Spain's colonial empire, were growing continually and it was natural that England should dispute Spain's claims in the north Pacific. In 1789, certain English vessels on their way to establish a trading post at Nootka Sound were seized by Spanish officers. Great Britain, refusing to acknowledge Spain's supremacy in the Pacific, issued an ultimatum to its rival and throughout the spring and summer of 1790 prepared for war.²⁷ Plans were made to strike Spain through its American colonies. Miranda's presence in London indicated that Britain might even hope to receive support from Spain's colonists in return for aid in their fight for independence.²⁸ Spain, knowing that Great Britain was in a better position than ever before to realize English ambitions, made its first concession in the Pacific to England.

²⁶ Richard Walter, *A Voyage round the World in the Years 1740-1744* by George Anson (London, 1768), pp. 279-289.

²⁷ William Ray Manning, "The Nootka Sound Controversy", *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1904, pp. 279-478.

²⁸ Francisco de Miranda to William Pitt, September 8, 1791, "English Policy toward America in 1790-1791" (edited by F. J. Turner), *American Historical Review*, VII. 711-715; Sir Arthur Campbell to William Pitt, October 28, 1790, with enclosure, *ibid.*, pp. 716-717.

In this critical period plans had been prepared by British statesmen, empire builders, naval and military officers, and private individuals for attacks on Spain's new world possessions.²⁹ The following extract from a letter of Miranda to William Pitt in September, 1791, may serve to indicate the type of schemes in which even English statesmen were involved:

When my friend Governor Pownall proposed, and explained to you the *grand Plan* I had to communicate to the British minister for the advantages and interest of the English nation, united to those of South America, it was accepted as a measure certainly to be adopted in case of a War with Spain—and in this supposition I was desired to wait upon you at Hollwood where I had the honour to meet you by appointment on the 14th February 1790—There we had a very long conference upon the subject, in which, the nature of my Proposals; the new form of Government—intended to be introduced in South-America, my Personal circumstances, and actual situation etc. were fully explained, and the Whole admitted as a Plan beneficial to this Country and to be put in execution certainly in case only of a War with Spain. . . .

On the 6 of May next I received a *Note* from you by your private Secretary Joseph Smith Esq. requesting to meet you that night if possible at 9 o'clock.—And in consequence I had the honour to wait upon you at White-hall, where you did me the favour besides of introducing me to the Secretary of State Mr. Grenville (now Lord Grenville).—We had a long conference—upon the subject of the preparations for a War with Spain, in consequence of the occurrences at Nootka Sound. The disposition of the People in South America towards joining the English for their independency against the Spaniards, etc. . . . Giving me new assurances of the Execution of my *Plans* if unfortunately a War as it apiered should take place between the two Countrys.—And pointing to me the same chanel of Mr. Smith, to convey with safety any thing I might think worth communicating to you. . . .

²⁹ One of the *Plans* of the day, providing for a general attack on Spain's colonies, is contained in the letters of William A. Bowles to Lord Grenville, *ibid.*, pp., 728-733.

Some time after, I presented to you the *Plan of Government* and mode of Legislation, I thought proper to be introduced in South America according to the principles of *Freedom* and *Independency*, we had agreed upon as a fundamental principle—You seem pleased with it, and begged to leave it with you for the farder perusal and consideration. We preceeded talking about the Plan of carrying on the War, and attacking the Spaniards in America, wishing me to point out the *places* by which it should be necessary to begin.³⁰

During the Nootka crisis the British mind, with the singleness of purpose it had maintained since the days of Drake, turned once again to the project of crippling Spain's colonial empire by the seizure of the isthmus of Panama. One of the most interesting schemes of the English to attack Spain's new world possessions has been recently discovered in the collection of documents from the West Indies, secured by Alphonse Louis Pinart and now deposited in the Bancroft Library at the University of California.

This manuscript, written by James Creassy, may be favorably compared with Paterson's *Central America*. It is intensely patriotic in its desire to establish Great Britain as the leading commercial nation and to ruin Spain's trade. It contains elaborate military and naval directions necessary for the seizure of Panama. Paterson hoped to found a settlement on the isthmus; Creassy also wished to plant a colony there for "all those who are groaning under Spanish slavery to flock to". Both plans suggest the possibility of constructing a canal. Creassy considered the possession of Panama "of a thousand times more consequence than Gibraltar" and hoped by its interoceanic route to secure for England the commodities of the Far East.

Creassy not only planned the capture of Panama; like Miranda, he intended to stir up all Spain's American colonial empire against the mother country. His essay is the work of a student of naval strategy who possessed an intimate knowl-

³⁰ Miranda to Pitt, September 8, 1791, "English Policy toward America in 1790-1791", *American Historical Review*, VII. 711-715.

edge and appreciation of his subject. It is printed here for the first time.

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A PLAN FOR GETING A SUPERIOR NAVAL FORCE INTO THE SOUTH SEAS, TAKING OR DISTROYING THE CITY OF PANAMA, SEIZING THE SPANISH TREASURE, RUINING THEIR COMMERCE IN SOUTH AMERICA, THE WEST INDIES, AND THE PHILIPIAN ISLANDS: AND FOR SECURING THE IMPORTANT PASSAGE ACCROSS THE ISTHMUS OF PANAMA FOREVER TO GREAT BRITAIN. AND OTHER MATTERS OF THE GREATEST NATIONAL UTILITY AT THIS CRISES.—BY JAMES CRESSY

At the special request of my worthy and Enterprizing friend Lieut. Col: Henry Watson late Chief Engineer of Bengal in the East Indies; whose abilities were above all praise, I in the year 1775 committed to writing such Plans and schemes as I had formed in my own mind for promoting the wealth prosperity and honour of the Nation, for easing her public burthens, for striking out and promoting new branches of Commerce, for employing our Sea men, for distressing and clipping the wings of our rivals in trade, and common enemies, and for reestablishing the strength and consequence of this shattered Empire. At the same time the fairest prospects are opened for making immense private fortunes for such as may engage in and patronize the same.

Tho I was neither bred, nor have had any immediate connection with Courts, yet I know so much of Courts as to convince me that there is scarce a Court in Europe, that is not surrounded by Treacherous Spies, Fawning Knaves, and Cringing Traitors. And therefore whatever Plan tends to the good of this Country, can never succeed without its being kept a profound secret, till it is ripe for execution; for the least breath whispered on any great national concern would set all the spies in Europe at work to worm out the secret, and bribery, treachery, and every art would be used, to defeat the design, or to throw obstacles in the way of its execution.—The great difficulty is therefore in falling upon some method of prosecuting the under-

mentioned design, without its reaching the ears of our enemies till the blow is ready to be struck.

In treating of this important Plan I shall suggest various methods of carrying it into execution: and if I should live to see it patronized by such as have the good of this Country at heart, I shall die with ease and with the pleasing reflection that the knowledge I have gain'd in travelling through the four quarters of the Globe, proved at last useful to my native Country.

The first part of this great and Important Plan, is to fit out two 74 Gun Ships and Eight 36 Gun Friggates, not to all sail at one time, but by single ships, and from different Ports, to the most convenient Island for wooding watering and refressing the people, at a proper season of the year for Doubling Cape Horn, where they would run no risk of being discovered by our enemies. There I propose they should Randizvous and Sail from thence with their united force into the South Seas. And to make the best of their way to Quibo, the most proper place for wooding . . . watering and as it abounds with Turtle of a most excellent quality, it is most convenient for refreshing prieved to any exploit on the Continent. To prevent alarming the Spaniards it will be proper for the Ships to keep at a considerable distance from the Coast till they arrive near the proposed Randizvouz at Quibo.

Having once gained this point without the least knowledge geting to the Court of Spain, (which never can be done by fitting out such a fleet to sail from England together) the Key of the spanish wealth would be as it were in the pocket of his Britanic Majesty, and our National Debt might be soon put in a train of payment. Their Galeons would then be easily intercepted and taken, their Towns on the Sea Coast plundered, burnt or taken possession of, all their rich coasting vessels would fall of course into our hands, and their whole Commerce from Port to Port cut off, whilst immense wealth would daily be falling into the hands of the Cruzers.

The first thing to be done after the fleet is arrived at Quibo and refreshed, is to take or destroy all the ships and vessels in the Harbour of Panama, and afterwards to take or burn the City.

As the grand object of my plan, is to establish *and forever secure* to great Britain a Communication across the Isthmus of Panama, to cut the Spanish Territories into two, to prevent one part acting in

conjunction with the other, and to allways keep a superior naval Force in the South Seas, by means of sending fresh men provisions and stores over this narrow Passage, to man all the Galeons and other Prizes which May be taken from the Spanyards, so as compleately to distroy all the Spanish Navigation in those Seas, and to send forces over to take burn or distroy all their Seaport Towns &c. To accomplish this great Plan, it is proposed that another fleet should be sent to the West Indies, to be in readiness to sail on the first news of the other fleet having reached the South Seas, and that a proper land force be sent with this fleet to take the Town of Cruces, which is situate in Land about six hours march from Panama on the River Chagre. This Town garrisoned by a few men while the main body march on to assist in reducing Panama. Thus the two fleets may be aiding and assisting to each other. All the Prizes taken in the South Seas, should be man'd and fitted out to keep the Spaniards continually alarmed—by which their forces will be divided along the Coast, and prevented from uniting in a body to defend the straits of Panama, the grand Key to all their Wealth and Commerce in the new World.

If the Town of Cruces is once taken, and a Passage secured across the Isthmus, no pains nor expence should be spared in Fortifying it, or some height in its neighbourhood. Such a Garrison should be planted to guard this important Passage, as no power that Spain could muster should ever be able to defeat; and great care should be taken to keep continually sending recruits to strengthen this Post.

Before I proceed further in this Plan I deem it expedient to give a Discription of this important passage, from the Western Ocean to the South Sea. The Town of Cruces, tho' at such a little distance (viz five Leagues) from Panama; lies accross the chain of Mountains called the Cordilleras, and commands the head of the Navigation of the River Chagre; and the Road from Panama is in many parts so narrow as scarce to admit Beasts of Burthen to pass without danger; which is the reason that by far the greatest part of the Bales, and Merchandize, sent from Panama to Porto Bella, and Carthagena, and back from those Ports to Panama, are halled along this Road by Negroes, who form themselves into seperate bodies for that purpose. This Road being so narrow, and passing between Rocks and Mountains, I conceive it will be easy when once the Passage is taken possession of, to guard it against any attempts from the Spaniards, by keep-

ing Guards upon the Heights, and planting some Field pieces on them to command the Road, and keep a communication open with the Shipping in both the Western Ocean, and South Sea; by which the Garrison on shore may be supplied with all necessaries, stores, and ammunition. And as this is the general conveyance for all the Treasure and Merchandize of Peru, and the Ports in the South Sea, to Porto Bella Carthagena the West Indies, and Old Spain; that great source of Spanish wealth and Power may be cut off, by one fleet being in possession of the Harbour of Panama, and compleately master of the South Seas; and a land force in possession of this important passage, and the other fleet alarming them in the Western Ocean, the Gulph of Mexico and the West Indies.

From the Town of Cruces, to the mouth of the River Chagre, taken in a straight line is no more than 21 miles but by the course of the River is about 43 miles, and is navigable for small craft all the way to the Sea; so that the whole passage from Sea to Sea, accross the Isthmus is 5 Leagues land carriage, and 43 Miles up a Navigable River. But as it is of the first consequence to be well acquainted with this Passage before any enterprize is attempted on the Spanish Territories in America, it is necessary here to say something concerning the Navigation of the River Chagre; and first the vessels employed are of two kinds, the *Chalas* and *Bongos*, called in Peru *Bonques*. The first are composed of several pieces of Timber, like Barks, and of a great breadth, that they may draw but little water; they carry six or seven hundred quintals. The Bongos are formed out of one piece of wood and it is surprizing to think there should be Trees of such prodigious bulk, some of them being eleven Paris feet broad, and carrying conveniently four or five hundred quintals. Both sorts have a cabbin at the Stern, for the Conveniency of passengers and a kind of awning support'd with wooden stancheons reaching to the head, and partition in the middle, which is also continued the whole length of the vessel; and over the whole when the vessel is loaded, are laid hides, that the goods may not be damaged by the violence of the rains which are very frequent here.—Each of these require besides the Pilot, at least eighteen or twenty robust Negroes; for without such a number, they would not be able, in going up, to make way against the Current. On the 27 of Decr. 1771 the Current was found to run at the rate of 10 toises and one foot in forty seconds, and a half, and in

the rapid parts the strength of the Negroes are not sufficient to row against the Current, but are obliged to set the vessels along with Poles. The bank's of this River are impassable, both on account of the closeness of the large trees, and the brushes which cover the ground, and renders the haling of vessels either by man or beast impossible, and many of the trees being undermined by the rapidity of the current, are thrown down, and the natural indulgence of the Spaniards preventing any improvement in this Navigation, all obstructions which the swelling of the River happens to occasion still remains, which can not fail of rendering this passage upwards against the current, difficult, toilsome, and tedious—But this passage might with a little industry be rendered commodious and easy, by clearing a Haling way along one of its Banks, and removing the Trees and obstructions lying in the River, and perhaps the Navigation might be extended beyond the Town of Cruces and reduce the Land carriage to an inconsiderable distance.

The mouth of the River Chagre is defended by a fort, situated on a steep rock, on the east side near the Sea shore. This is called Saint Lorenzo de Chagre, has a Commandant and a Lieutenant, both appointed by the King of Spain, and the garison is draughted from Panama. This fort is in $9^{\circ}.18'.40''$ North Latitude, and would be easily reduced by a force sent from the West Indies for that purpose, which I shall mention more at large hereafter. About eight Toises from the above fort, is a Town of the same name. The Houses are principally of reeds, and the inhabitants Negroes Mulattoes and Mestizos. Opsite, on a low level ground stands the royal Custom house, where an account is taken of all goods going up the Chagre. Here the breadth of the River is about 120 Toises, but grows narrower gradually as you approach the source: at the Town of Cruces the place where its Navigation at present ends, is only 20 Toises broad.

I shall now leave the mouth of the River Chagre, and all opporations on the East side the Isthmus and return back to the Fleet at Panama. The City of Panama is defended by a wall of free stone, and in time of War a tollerable large garrison of regulars; from whence detachments are sent to do duty at Darin, Porto Bello, and Chagre. Near the City on the Northwest, is a Mountain called Ancon, whose perpendicular height was found to be 101 Toises. The houses within the walls since the City was destroyed by Fire, in the year

1737, are chiefly of stone, but the suburbs which are much larger than the City, are erected of wood, and thatched with straw, and might be burnt by a detachment sent from the fleet at pleasure, which would contribute greatly to the reduction of the City, by driving such multitudes within the walls, where they in case of a siege can neither obtain fresh provisions or vegetables: for the Coasting Barks *which wholly* supply the City, with the productions of several places under the Jurisdiction of Panama, and Varaguas, by a vigilant look out, might intirely be cut off from supplying any of the necessaries of life. The City with such numbers shut up within its Walls, must soon be reduced to a state of famine, especially in this hot Climate where provisions will not keep, and where little or no food is raised in its neighbourhood of any kind, but wholly depends on its Commerce. All these circumstances duely considered, it is evident that the City, if it cannot be taken by surprize at the first arrival of the fleet in the South Seas, without the risk of loosing too many men, it still must of course fall into our hands, and therefore the principal thing to be attended to is to secure the strong holds, between the Town of Cruces, and Panama; and keep a Communication open between the fleet in the Western Ocean, and that in the South Seas.

Agents should be sent to New York, Philadelphia and Quebeck, to purchase stoors, Provisions and collect recruits to send both to the River Chagre, and to the fleet in the South Seas, that as fast as Recruits could be collected and sent either, from America, the West Indies, or Great Britain, all the Prizes taken in the South Seas should be maned, both with Seamen and Land forces, properly equipt for alarming the Coast, both to the North and South of Panama, to keep their troops continually employed in harrising and fateiguing marches, and prevent them sending any great force to Panama, or the Posts to be secured accross the Isthmus. While these vessels are alarming the enemy, they will be able to collect Provisions, and wealth; and take or Distroy many small Towns, their Boats, and Coasting vessels; totally destroy their commerce, pick up vast numbers of Indians to recruit the army; and set thousands of Negroes free, and by giving them freedom, make them good useful labourers, to form a good road, and improve the Navigation, to make a safe easy and Commodious passage between the two Seas. And also would be found useful in

assisting in building Forts, and other works necessary to secure this Passage to Great Britain *for ever*.

On this extraordinary Isthmus, I proposed that the standard of Liberty should be erected, for all who are groaning under Spanish Slavery to flock to: Here they should be armed and find protection and be paid for their Labour, or services, all such as should be willing to enter as Soldiers, should be enlisted, trained, exercised, and receive the same pay as are given to others. And such as chose to be employed in raising works for defending the Passage, be immediately set to work, and be regularly paid for their labour. By giving such encouragement, neither labourers, nor soldiers will be wanting, and while the Soldiers are seizing our enemies wealth, the labourers will be adding security to their Conquests.

The only difficulty of moment which can arise in executing this Plan, is in getting the above fleet into the South Seas, without the Court of Spain getting the least knowledge of the design, if that point can be accomplished the Key of the Spanish treasure may be then said to be in the Pocket of His Britanic Majesty: Their Galeons would be easily intercepted and taken; Their Towns all along the sea Coast plundered, taken, burnt or destroyed, all their rich coasting vessels would fall into our hands, and their whole Commerce from Port to Port cut off, and immense wealth would be daily falling into the hands of the cruizers, and before the Court of Spain could be informed of the transactions carrying on in those remote parts of the world, and be enabled to fitt out a fleet, and sen[d] a proper force round Cape Horn, two Seasons would of course be lost: In which interval of time, the main business would be done, without the Spaniards having the least prospect of either defending their Commerce, wealth, or Dominions. No force could be fitted out in Spain, able to cope with the fleet in the South Seas, thus augmented and strengthened by maning all the Prizes, and recruited by sending fresh men, stores and every necessary accross the Isthmus. The British Minister, would watch their motions, and send a fleet to harris them or take them before they reached the South Seas, and if any Ships escaped, and got round Cape Horn, they would find no ports to shelter them against such a powerful force, as might be sent against them; and therefore would fall into our Hands of cource, and help to encrease our strength in those Seas.

By once getting a superior Naval power in the South Seas, and securing a safe conveyance across this important passage, Great Britain would become masters of the Spanish wealth; the keepers of the keys of their treasure; their fleets and armies would be with difficulty fitted out in old Spain for foreign service, as the returns of that Treasure, which alone could enable them to carry on war, would be cut off, and turned as bitter weapons against them. and the alarm, and confusion it would occasion to the Spaniards, may be better conceived than described.

During the long interval of Peace *in the South Seas*, Luxury and laziness have crept in among the Spaniards, all along the Coast of Mexico and Peru. Their Fortifications have been neglected, and in many places decayed: the Carriages of their Cannon rotten, and their Guns dismantled or rendered useless. Their troops and garrisons, from the avarice and connivance of their Vice Roys and great men, ill affected, badly paid, dispirited and enervated with the rigour of the Climate; and mouldering away; so that if such a force as I here propose to send round Cape Horn, can but once get into the South Seas unknown to Spain, which may be accomplished with a little Invention, they will be completely masters of the whole extent of Spanish Settlements along the Coast from North to South, and shake the very foundation of their American Empire.

The general principals of this Plan being thus far laid down, it will not be improper to enter more minutely into the particular methods for carrying the same into effectual execution; but it is first necessary to declare, the fitting out the fleet to the South Seas should be done under various masks, and deceptions and various reports, foreign to the Purpose circulated, till the ships have arrived on their station. For I again declare that secrecy is the most, and almost the only difficult part of the business. I am therefore clearly of opinion that neither the Commanders Officers or men, should have the least knowledge of the enterprize, but each ship ought to be ordered to sail into a certain Latitud and Longitude, before the Commanders are suffered to open their Instructions; and even then each separate Captain should be ordered to sail to the Island of Randizvous near Cape Horn, before he is permitted to break open his second Instructions; and till he arrives at that Island, he should not have the least knowledge of meeting with any other Ships, but should expect

to be joined only by a small victualer to supply him with stores provisions—to his Doubling the Cape. When he arrives at the place of Randizvouz, he should be permitted to break open his second Instructions, which should direct him to obey the orders of the Admiral or Commodore, and to wait there for his arrival, provided he should get there before him. In case any accident should happen to the Admiral or Commodore, so that his ship did not arrive in a limited time, the next in rank on board any of the other Ships, to break open his third Instructions, and to take the Command of all the ships which shall have reached the randizvouz, and proceed on the expedition in the same manner as the Admiral, had he himself arrived, till joined by the Admiral, at any other Randivouse.

The manning of this fleet I conceive of the next importance, and should wish to collect a considerable number of Ship Carpenters, *such as have been at Sea*; as they are generally men of better understanding than common sailors, and may be made useful, and more guidable on shore, in storming places, and carrying on sieges; and as they are used to handling tools, and hard labour, they will be found very servicable in various ways: Besides expeditiously repairing any damages that may happen to the fleet, making Carriages, mounting Cannon for Land service &c &c. In short they will make good Sailors, and very good useful Soldiers and as I propose the Commander of each Ship should be ordered strictly to exercise his men both at the great Guns, and small arms, as often as possible, and when on shore some serjents and officers should frequently exercise all such men as can be spared from other duty; and teach them to march and counter-march in good order, as well as to handle their arms expertly, and learn them to be marksmen by using them to fire at a mark &c. The next class of men should be Sail makers, calkers, smiths, and Coopers *who likewise have been used to the Sea*. And the remainder may be made up of common seamen, except a few serjents a[nd] Corporals to learn the men their exercise. All to be in good health, and not past the prime of life, except a few of the warrant officers, who require to be steady men.

The next thing is to carry a considerable quantity of spare arms, and cannon, *in each ship*, with great plenty of Ammunition; the spare arms to arm the Indians and Slaves, who may enter into this service, and the Cannon to Fortify and secure the Harbour of Panama, and

other places, which may be necessary to secure a communication in the Country, and accross the Isthmus. Every ship should likewise carry new set of masts, and as many Top Masts and Spars as possible, and several Spare Anchors Cables, and a considerable quantity of Cordage.

The next great object I shall consider is the manner of constructing the Cutters, Barges, and Boats, to be carried out by this fleet, as the landing and embarking a number of men in the most expeditious manner, will be of great service in surprizing and taking Towns along the seacoast, and the expedition necessary for carrying on Board Treasure, and other valuable articles, in foraging for provisions &c. before the country people can be alarmed; and got together to oppose such opporations. I propose to construct all the Boats to be carried out by this fleet, *with their Beams to take out, and fit in at pleasure* so that one Boat may be stowed within another, in the same manner as earthen Boles or Basons are packed for exportation, by this means more than double the quantity of Boats may be stoed on Board each ship, which is usually carried to sea; which I conceive may be of the greatest importance in expeditions of this kind; and particularly for boarding and cuting ships out of Harbours.

Every ship should carry out nets, and all kinds of impliments for fishing, which may be of great use in preserving the health and vigor of their respective crues. Swivels and small Cannon should not be forgot; and the maning and fiting out the Spanish Prizes may be of great use in surprizing some of their seaport Towns, by concealing in them a number of men, and standing in near the Harbour under Spanish Colours before night, and then landing at the dead of the night unsuspected; may get possession of the Town, without much risk or opposition, nor will those prizes be less useful in procuring fresh provisions, for the fleet. Besides those advantages these Prizes, armed and manned as above, would be able to spread such an alarm all along the Coast, as would prevent the Spaniards drawing their whole force to defend Panama, or the Passage accross the Isthmus. And for these and other purposes, each ship should when she sails from hence carry out as many men as she can possibly stow. And if a number of saddles and Bridles and Hors furniture were shipped, and a few light Horsmen to comman and instruct the Indians and Slaves proposed to be armed against the Spaniards, they might make great Captures at a distance from Shore, and cause a great divirtion

and increase the general Panic through the Continent, as there are plenty of fine Horses to be got in the Country.

Plenty of Canvas is the next article, and every Ship should be provided with a proper large sheet to spread for catching fresh water when ever it Rains, so that every shower that happens, as many empty Casks may be filled as possible; this article should never be forgot by any Ships bound on such expeditions, and more particularly on an enemies Coast.

As it is not my intention here to enter into a minute detail of all the articles the Ships ought to carry with them. I shall now proceed to consider from what Parts the several Ships may be fitted out, in order to prevent any suspesion of a fleet sailing on such an expedition, and that our Enemies may not be alarmed at such a force fitting out or be able to watch our motions when they sail.

First I propose one 74 Gun Ship to be sent from the Port of London, and two frigates to Sail after her North about. The other 74 from Milford Haven, with the Admiral or Commodore on Board, about the same time. Two frigates from Cork, Two more from Waterford. One from Portsmouth, and the other from Plimouth. the Victuals from Cork, and Dublin.—All to sail seperately and with instructions sealed up and not to be brok open on any account till they respectively arrive into certain Latitudes, and the second Instructions not to be opened till they arrive at the Islands of Randizvouse (suppose for Instance Falklands Island) and so on.—and each Commander to have particular instructions not to engage, or even speak or come near any Vessel he can avoid, till they arrive at their flrs[t] station, for breaking open their orders, and the said Instructions should be repeated in the second Orders, till the Ships arrive at the place of Randizvouse. And above all these Instructions and orders should be all wrote by the Minister himself, and never suffered to be exposed among the Clerks in the Public offices.

I shall not fix the place of Randizvous yet, I conceive it right to lay it down as a rule not to be departed from on any account, that neither men of War nor victualrs shall on any account touch at any Port, where any Europeans have any Settlements, prieved to doubling Cape Horn. except drove in by damage or the most urgent distress. and I am clearly of opinion that the first Randizvouse should not be further from Cape Horn than Port St. Julian, or Falklands Island.

I propose that they should arrive at their first Randizvouz, about the beginning of the month of Septr. or rather sooner, that they may be ready to double Cape Horn by November. This is rather an early period for doubling the Cape; yet it may be attended with the most salutary consequences, for by taking advantage of the first of the season in all prob[ab]ility the fleet will arrive soon enough in the proper Latitude, for intercepting the outward bound Galeon from Accopulco, loaded with Silver for Minila; which sails from Accapulca about the middle of March, and leave a couple of ships with healthy cruets to cruize for her, while the remainder of the fleet steers on for their station. The out-ward bound Galeon is far richer than that returning from Minilla and therefore every endeavour should be exerted to get in time to intercept her; and to avoid alarming the Coast, till she sails, otherwise an embargo will be laid on her.—If this Point is gained, the other Galeon which is to return from Manilla, can hardly escape being Captured, for there will be a considerable length of time before she arrives on the Coast of America, and no intelligence can be sent to her by the enemy to prevent her coming her usual rout, and by such time as she arrives the fleet will be refreshed, and the damages repaired, and will be Masters of the whole South Seas, the Coast, and in possession of a convenient Harbour, where they can be plentifully supplied with provisions and necessaries.

If in passing round the Cape, any considerable sickness should break out among the Crews, it may be proper to Land the Sick at the Island of Juan Fernandes, and leave a Ship there till they recover. In that case, that ship may be ordered *after a certain time is elapsed*, to sail along the Coast and take all the ships, and Coasting vessels she can meet with, make attempts to Land, and keep the whole Coast in a continual alarm, to draw as much of the Spanish force as possible, from assisting to defend Panama, or the Passage across the Isthmus. But as accidents may make it necessary to change the operations of the best concerted plans, much must be left in the power of the Commander, to act according to the best of his wisdom and discretion; as it is impossible to foresee, all that time, distance and such a voyage may produce.

If it should be judged expedient to leave a ship or two at the Island of Juan Fernandes, with the Sick. They may be ordered to Cruize of[f] Valparaiso, for a short time, at a proper distance from

the Coast, so as not to alarm the Inhabitants till they have taken some of their rich Coasting Ships, which when taken I recommend to be immediately manned, and armed properly, to Sail along the Coast under Spanish Coulours, till they come to some harbour, where they have an opportunity of standing in, in the evening, and either surprizing the Town, or cutting their ships out. Then the men of war to be near to second their motions, by which the Coast may be kept in a continual alarm, and they will look upon their own ships, as well as the English to be their enemies, and every sail that appears will spread terror among the Inhabitants. All such prisoners either Negroes or Indians as are taken and are willing to enter into the service of Great Britain, to be well treated, encouraged, and paid regularly, and sent to the main Randizvouse of the fleet, to assist in the opporations of Panama. If it should so happen that Panama can be taken by surprize, the grand point will be compleated: but whether that can be done or not, the Heights on the Isthmus should be taken possession of, and a passage secured between the two Seas, on the first news of the arrival of both fleets on their respective Stations.

As I have before mentioned the steps to be taken for intercepting the outward bound Galeon, from Acapulca to Minilla, I shall here observe, that every thing should be ready prepared, and a proper force well fitted out, with men in health, and sent in time to arrive of[f] Cape St. Lucas on the Coast of California, where the Captain of ever Galeon returning from Minilla is ordered to fall in with the Land, a little to the Northward of the Cape. Where the Inhabitants are directed on sight of the vessel, to make the proper signals with fires, on discovering these fires, the Captain is to send his launch on shore, with twenty men well armed, who are to carry with them the letters from the Convents of Minilla, to the California Missioners, and are to bring back the refreshments, and likewise intilligence whether or no there are enemies on the coast.—This service may be performed either by fitting out the Captured Galeon or by sending two Frigates. Here I propose the ships should Cruize that they may fall in with the Galeon before she have the least intimation of an enemy being on the Coast; and that one of the ships (if two are sent) should keep 8 or 10 Leagues distance from Cape St. Lucas, or from the Coast to the Northward of it, and the other ship further out to sea, but within sight of each other. I also propose that a Cutter, or two be sent out further

still to sea, every day and to stand nearer the ships at night, the two cutters and ships thus spreading themselves will not only prevent any intelligence being sent from shore to meet the Galeon, but will render it almost impossible for her to escape, as it is impossible any intelligence should have got a cross that immense Ocean to Minilla, previous to her Sailing, to inform her of any enemies being in the South Seas.

If fortune should so far favour the Plan, as to throw both the Galeons into the hands of our Cruizers, the next great object is to get seamen across the Isthmus, to man them and all the Prizes taken in those Seas, so as to augment our Naval strength, and compleately destroy the Spanish Commerce, either coast wise or to Minilla, and become superior to any force which Spain can ever send round into those Seas from Europe. For I shall not hesitate to declare, that if we once get a superior fleet into the South Seas and Secure a Passage accross the Isthmus of Panama, that it must be extreame folly, or treachery if we ever loose the Superiority again.

I shall now quit the operations in the South Seas and make some remarks on what I conceive proper to be done to second this important Plan, and to add permanency and security to the measures.

First I propos that a Powerfull Fleet and armiament should be sent to the West Indies, under coulour of securing our West India Islands, that the major part of this Fleet should be ordered to sail from the West India Islands at a fixed time, so as to arrive at the mouth of the River Chagre some little time before the South Sea fleet should reach Panama. That the first opporations on the East side the Isthmus, should be the Reduction of the Fort at the mouth of the River Chagre, to cut a haling way and open a free passage along the River up to Cruces, and to secure all the Hights along the Road between Cruces, and Panama, and to open a free and easy Communication between the Fleet on the East side of America, and that in the South Seas; and as Cruces is the most extraordinary situation to be found on the face of the whole Globe; commanding as it were two immense Oceans, and the whole Coasts on both sides the Continent of America; I propose that no time should be lost in Fortifying either this Town or some of the Heights near it, and that a sufficient Garrison be planted there, to bid defiance to all the Power which Spain can collect to send against it. And to declare it to be a free City, for

all people to flock to, who will swear Alleigence to the King of Great Britain, and to conform to the Laws, Rules and Regulations to be made for the good Order and Government of the Same. Here I propose that the standard of Liberty should be erected for all persons to flock to, where they should find protection, to Trade or otherwise, and such as had escaped from Spanish Slavery, should find employ as Labourers and should have lands allotted them in the neighbourhood, and be furnished with arms to defend themselves, and the Settlement. And also all the disaffected Indians, should meet with encouragement, be armed and placed under proper Officers, to enable them to act with effect against their haughty oppressors, in order to make this Conquest more secure, and compleat, and to compleately free those brave and oppressed people from the galing yolk they have so long been groaning under.

When the news of this important passage being taken by the English shall reach North America, it will spread like wild fire, and if proper encouragement is but held out to adventurers, there will soon be numbers of sea men and adventurers from all parts of the Continent of North America, flock to join the British forces, and embark in this enterprize against Spain, whom the Americans view with a Jealous eye. Besides the allurements of gain, and the temptation of Gold and Silver, with other advantages of selling their Provisions to the Army, and Navy, will be too powerful to be resisted by *Individuals*, when once the Spanish fences are broke down and that vast Continent of wealth laid open to adventurers.

By opening a general Randizvouse for all persons to flock to at or near Cruces either to carry on Trade or become Soldiers, Labourers Machanics and husband men, a strong City and Collony may be planted, and a Chain of Poasts may soon be formed quite across the Isthmus, and forever cut the Spanish wealthy Territories into two parts, preventing one part of their dominions assisting the other, and for ever secure the trade and commerce of all their Coasts to center in Great Britain.

The next thing which occurs of importance, is the fixing on the most healthy place for this new City, which is a consideration of the first magnitud in a hot Climate, and tho I have mentioned Cruces, I do not mean to confine the scheme to that spot but that this new City, and strong Garrison, should be built as high up the Mountains in the

Neighbourhood of Cruces, as the same can be supplied with plenty of fresh water. Having myself travelled through many parts of Europe, Asia, Africa, and America; and passed over the Burning Desertas, and the Frozen Alps, and over vast numbers of Mountains, Valleys and Rivers, in different parts of the Globe; and in all my Journies have made such remarks, and memorandums, as I thought might one day turn out advantageous to my own Country, or mankind in general, But none of them are more deserving attention than those which respect the forming Cities, Towns and Garisons in Hot Climates.

In most places within the Torrid Zone, there are high and stupendous Mountains, to be found, and in assending which, we allways find the cold increase in proportion to the height, and even snow remains the whole year on the tops of many mountains, near the Equinoctial Line. These facts being so well known, it is astonishing to find, vast wealthy Cities, Garrisons and Towns, in marshy Boggy Vallies, where the air is sultry, hot, pent up, and stagnated, and for want of a free circulation becomes Pestilential, and breeds innumerable diseases in the human frame. Such is the case at Porto Bello, and many other Cities in South America. Nor have I ever in the Course of my travels found a City or Garrison, where proper care has been taken to erect it in the most healthy situation, and on that account most of the Garrisons in hot Climates become Graves for the Inhabitants, instead of comfortable habitations. To avoid this tirrible and Common evil in all hot Climates; I propose to have this New City, and principal Garrison laid out as high up the Mountains, which divide the two Seas, as a good Spring or Rivulet of Water can be found, and no doubt but plenty of such places may be found, by accurately Surveying the Isthmus. Here the Inhabitants may enjoy as good health, and live as long as tho' they resided in a more northerly Climate, and this point is to be particularly attended to.

If this important passage accross the Isthmus is once taken and Secured to Great Britain, it will be found of a thousand times more consequence to her than Gibraltar. It will open such an immense field for new sources of Trade and Commerce as would find employ for all the Manufacturers both of Great Britain and Ireland. New Colonies would of course soon be planted on the Northwest Coast of America and in various parts of South America, and all the springs of wealth and Industry would be opened and flow in torrents from

every part of the Globe into the Mother Country. Her Sea men would increase and our navy ride triumphant over the whole world. Every Idle hand would then find imploy in promoting the good of the Nation at large in the room of remaining a dead bourthen on the Public. And the very name of going into the neighbourhood of the Spanish Gold and Silver Mines, would be a sufficient inducement to adventurers to embark in a thousand different schemes. New discoveries would be opening daily to employ the ingenious, and the enterprizing spirit of this Commercial Nation, and new life and energy would be added to this Drooping Country. In short the advantages which would of Course arrise from such an enterprize would soon change the affairs not only of this Kingdom but those of the West Indies and all the British Dominions would be enriched and rendered more secure from the Intrigues and Attacks of our Enemies; wile the Spaniards would be under the necessity of purchasing a Peace at any rate or on any terms Great Britain might think proper to grant them.

The House of Bourbon which has long been a terror to all Europe, is now split in two, and the only way to prevent the serpent for ever joining again to sting us, is to seiz on the Purse, and become the keepers of the Keys of their Treasure, and then their mighty Power will fall by its own weight.

France being now involved in trouble, and the present dissatisfaction which every where reigns in Peru, and Mexico, and amongst the Spaniards themselves, renders this a very favourable opportunity for carrying this Plan into Execution.

When we consider the immense consequence of this Plan to the Public, the vast Treasure which would of course be Collected and poured into Great Britain, by taking the Galeons, and sweeping as it were the whole Coasts of Peru, Chili and Mexico: The injury which woul[d] be done to our enemies, by destroying there most valuable Commerce, the discontents and confusion it would occasion in Old Spain, it must appear self evident, that the Plan would reflect the highest honour on all those who, should be any ways concerned in promoting or executing it.

Besides the advantages which are to accrue to the Public, we may with a pleasing reflection contemplate on the vast private fortunes which will be gained by the Captains, Officers, and Commanders, who may be ordered to execut this undertaking.

I am aware that there are persons in this Kingdom, who equally condemn the best, as well as the worst formed Plans of an enterprizing nature, and Stigmatize the projectors with the name of *Schemers*. But surely these men ought to know that no Commercial Nation, can ever arrive at any tollerable degree of eminence, without the spirit of enterprize meets with due encouragement, and that if once we loose the spirit of enterprize, we loos our Commerce and consequence, as a powerful Nation. For I shall not hesitate to declare, that this Nation must of course fall into decay, when ever she looses the noble Spirit of enterprize, whether such loss is occasioned by the want of virtue, firmness, or wisdom in Ministers, or the luxury idleness or want of exertion in the People; whether for want of proper patronage and support from the great, or from the treachery of fauning spies or Cringing Knaves, employed by our Enemies; whether from the Inhabitants being loaded with heavy grievous Taxes, or from any other cause whatever, the effects will be the same. Oour Commerce in that Case would linger, and die away: the people gradually sink into abject Sloth, and Slavery and first become a prey to every upstart Tyrrant at home, and at last to the conquering Arms of some neighbouring Power.

The Jews, the Greeks, the Athenians, the Romans and many other great nations and Empires, have sunk as it were into nothing, and their people are broke down and degenerated, and become the very Dregs of mankind. Jeruslam many ages since reduced to a heap of rubbish; and the people dispersed through out the world. All the mighty Cities of Greece demolished, and the remains of their people slaves to the Turks. Athens distroyed. Rome itself which once Governed and gave Laws to all the known world, is now a poor epitome of its former greatness. Its dominions confined to a part of Italy, and the degenerate people turned fiddlers, singers, dancers, players, and *musicck grinders*. And all these mighty changes have happened for want of giving proper encouragement to, and keeping alive the noble spirit of enterprize, which alone stamps the value on all Commercial Nations, and raises one Nation to become superior to another.

Portagal, tho' but a small speck of Land cut as it were out of Spain, once rose to a very high pitch of Glory, and the foundation of all their greatness, was laid by that enterprizing Navigator, who

first sailed round the Cape of Good Hope to the East Indies; and thereby opening new sources of Commerce which enriched the subjects, and made them powerful, and spread their fame to the remotest corners of the Earth.

The immense wealthy possessions held by the Spaniards to this very day, are wholly owing to the enterprizing spirit and perseverance of *Columbus*, who for years hawked his abilities from Court to Court, without meeting with anything but trouble vexation and disappointment, till Spain took him by the hand.

If such great benefits and advantages have formerly accrued to other Nations from giving due encouragement to enterprizes, which at first sight must appear more difficult more uncertain and more expensive than the South Sea Scheme what may we not expect from it, if the Plan should be properly Patronized and supported. It would not only change the affairs of Great Britain, but give a turn to those of all Europe, by preventing any future union between France and Spain, and the Ballance of Power would again fall where it must ever be most secure, in the hands of the King of Great Britain.

To enumerat all the benifits and advantages, which would accrue to the Nation, from the acquisition of such a central place as the passage between the mouth of the River Chagre, and the Bay of Panama alone, would require many volumns. But it was never my intention to go at large into those matters which from viewing the Maps of the East and West Indies, America and Europe must appear self evident to any man of common understanding, but to furnish general hints for some able Man who has courage and understanding both to improve upon those hints, and then *privately* communicate them to his Sovereign.

If this Passage is once secured to Great Britain, I doubt not but she would soon improve the Navigation of the River Chagre, and cut or form a canal through to the South Sea, which is now but 15 Miles Land carriage. This would secure the Tea Trade from China, and other East India Commodities, which are consumed in North America, the West Indies and Great part of South America to Great Britain, and our Manufacturies would be dispersed from one end of Spanish America to the other. The Spaniards would become the diggers of the Gold and Silver, and we should become the Receivers

of it, for our Manufactured Goods, without the possibility of the Spaniards ever helping themselves. For if we once get a Superior Naval force into the South Seas, and are in Possession of this extraordinary important Passage across the Isthmus, it must be our own fault if we loose it.

I shall just mention a few observations, and then leave these out lines to be improved upon by such as may undertake to lay this Plan before our most Gracious Sovereign, for his approbation, and concurrence. The Subjects of the United States of America, who are settled on the Borders of the Ohio, and the River Misicippia, are highly disgusted with the Spaniards for assuming a right to the Sovereignty of the River Misicippia and preventing them from a free Navigation thereon. It might be proper to send an Agent among them, at a proper time to spirit those people up, and by distributing money and arms among them, offering to procure a free Navigation for their products, and holding out to them the prospect of gain; I am persuaded that a considerable force might be raised to Join such Canadians, and Indians, as might be sent from the Interior parts of America to harass the Spaniards in Mexico. While this is doing to cause a diversion in their Northern Settlements, all possible encouragement should be given to the fitting out stout Privateers, well manned, and provided to go to the River Plate, and their other settlements to the Southward, so that the East, as well as the West Coasts, may be kept in one continual alarm, to divert their forces till the main object is secured and well Fortified.

If this Plan is carried on with spirit and Judgment, the King of Great Britain will become the Richest Monarch on the face of the Earth, and his people the most Industrious. The Sun will never set in his Dominions, Colonies will be planted in those numerous Islands in the South Seas, and Commerce be extended to every part of the habitable Globe. While this Passage will command and open an easy way to all the Coasts and Islands, to the East and to the West. It will become the Key of Treasure; the Centre of Commerce, the most direct road to China, Japan, and the Northern Coasts of the East Indies. The rich Furs of the North West Coast of America, will become a staple commodity to carry to China, and help to pay for our Tea, the Factories, which will undoubtedly be soon established on

that Coast, will be easily supplied through this Passage with articles from hence, to pay for those Skins and a General Scene of Active Commerce take place.

No 14 St Johns Street Smithfield

May 15. 1790.

JAMES CREASSY.

BOOK REVIEWS

Outpost of Empire. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931. Pp. xxiii, 334, xviii. Illus. Maps. Index. \$5.00.)

The history of the Americas, Herbert E. Bolton has long insisted is an indivisible unit. The basic fact in this history is the existence of the colonial empire of Spain in the new world, a web of Spanish life extending over a continent and a half and the islands in between. With blood, language, religion, laws, economic and social customs, and institutions, this empire linked North and South America. Later, into the other half of North America and into the Caribbean, the Anglo-Saxon current of European culture pushed its way and became inextricably woven with the destinies of the Hispanic world. Together the two cultures formed a unit and the foundation of western history.

In hammering out his ideas, Professor Bolton's anvil has been a field distinctively his own—The Spanish borderlands, a nexus reaching from Florida to California, the "meeting place of two streams of European civilization". There European frontiers and Europeans themselves collided. On the east, Spaniards and Englishmen; in the heart of the continent, Frenchmen, Anglo-Americans, and Spaniards; in the west, Russians and Spaniards. On the eastern seaboard, Professor Bolton illuminated the Anglo-Spanish conflict in his *Arredondo*; in mid-America he told the story in his *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, and in his *Mézières*; now on the Pacific, he rounds out the Spanish advance against Russia.

Outpost of Empire, however, differs in one important respect from *Arredondo* and *Mézières*. Here for the first time, Dr. Bolton in his opening chapters "The Empire" and "Fringes of Empire" presents the long awaited brief of his ideas on the significance of the Spanish empire in the new world, so that apart from the book itself, as this two-chapter essay originally appeared, this synthesis constitutes a significant contribution in the field of ideas to western history.

Turning to the details, we see, as under a microscope, the process of Spanish expansion which, in this case centers about a principal

figure, Juan Bautista de Anza. Having explored an overland route from Sonora to Monterrey and back, this frontier captain duplicated his feat in a more amazing manner by leading from Sonora the colony which became San Francisco—outpost of empire. These two undertakings, the author states with no fear of contradiction, constitute a record never excelled if, indeed, ever equalled in the trek of pioneers to the Pacific coast. Having collected during the last thirty years from foreign and local archives the sources of Anza's expeditions, Dr. Bolton, diaries in hand, reexplored and identified Anza's routes from Sonora to Monterrey and back again, as well as the Anza and Font exploration of San Francisco Bay for a presidio and mission site. The result is a tale told with charm, vivid and fascinating.

Anza stands out in this story a man of action and a man of ideas. It was he who wrote Bucareli at the critical moment proposing an overland route to California when the project was germinating in the viceroy's mind. Likewise, Anza appreciated the importance of the Yuma Indians who lay athwart the route to California. How he won their affection and loyalty and gave Chief Palma a flaming suit trimmed with gold, Professor Bolton tells in his inimitable manner. The desert presented another problem. But when a frontal attack on the sand dunes failed, Anza, like a good general, fell back and tried a new offensive. This advance opened the way to the mountains and Monterrey. When the second expedition came to be organized, Anza, in forthright manner, told the viceroy his needs. Boldness won and the captain was given a free hand. Thus two hundred and forty people equipped from "shoes to hair ribbons" set out in mid-winter on a fifteen hundred mile journey to the Golden Gate, under a commander prepared with a solution for every crisis. The human side of these two hundred and forty pioneers braving freezing deserts and mountain passes finds full expression at the hands of their historian.

Among these, Professor Bolton portrays the full stature of a remarkable figure, the aristocratic Father Font. Intellectually, this padre is in the tradition of Father Kino. His careful attention to Indian culture throws light on more than one ethnographic puzzle (p. 177). To him, we owe the highly minute and valuable description of the Casa Grande de Montezuma and a multitude of priceless observations on things Indian from Sonora to California.

Outpost of Empire has won wide recognition, having been selected

as the alternate book of the Book of the Month Club for November and awarded the gold medal of the Commonwealth Club of California as "the finest book by a California author" in 1931. Thus Professor Bolton has the rather unique distinction of having written a volume which at once is fascinating to the layman and which meets on the other hand the severe requirements of an introductory study to his highly technical and monumental five volume history, *Anza's California Expeditions*. In the latter are translated and edited the diaries and letters, among them the magnificent 534 page diary of Father Font, from which is woven this story of the founding of that outpost of empire—San Francisco.

ALFRED BARNABY THOMAS.

The University of Oklahoma.

Historical Evolution of Hispanic America. By J. FRED RIPPY. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1932. Pp. xvii, 580. \$3.75.)

This work constitutes a welcome addition to the slender list of good textbooks in the Hispanic American field. In a handsomely bound volume of five hundred and eighty pages it presents a clear picture of the sweep of historical events in Spanish and Portuguese America from pre-Columbian days to the present, for use in college courses. It is well written and has qualities of readableness which should recommend it to students. Professor Rippy has drawn on a wide range of recent monographic and periodical literature for his conclusions and illustrative material which lends an attractive freshness to his scholarly presentation of the field. His arrangement, proportions, and emphasis, likewise depart from the traditional and orthodox with highly satisfactory results, especially in the national period where the handbook method of treatment of a score of separate republics in distinct narratives is not followed.

Professor Rippy's objectives in writing this survey were, in his own words:

(1) To strike a proper balance between solid facts, synthesis, and interpretations; (2) to treat the colonial era in such manner as to give a correct impression of the movement of the stream of history through a period of three centuries, and especially to convey an adequate impression of change and progress between the years 1600 and 1750; (3) to avoid the handbook method in dealing with the national period and give the student the benefit of suggestions regarding the similarities and contrasts in the historical development of the twenty republics of

Hispanic America; (4) to emphasize the important changes which have taken place in the region since the beginning of the twentieth century; and (5) to present an adequate survey of the foreign relations of these nations.

In addition, he limits the amount of space devoted to literature, art, and science on the correct ground that the works of the specialists in these fields can be used by students who wish to pursue these subjects more intensively. The reader feels that Professor Rippy has, in the main, achieved his objectives in a highly commendable manner.

Those who possess a greater interest in the colonial period than Professor Rippy may quarrel with what they may regard as a disproportionate amount of space devoted to the recent period in this book. This, however, is a matter of personal opinion and interest, and in nowise detracts from the value of his performance. The highly teachable character of the work, reflecting considerable classroom experience, makes it quite possible to supplement the briefer treatment of the earlier period on the part of those who have specialized knowledge in this era.

The book has numerous illustrations and a useful series of maps. The rainfall map (p. 4), showing Lake Titicaca in the area of heavy rainfall (!), has other minor inaccuracies which should be corrected in subsequent editions. A topical bibliography and a full index add to the serviceability of the book. Rafael Altamira y Crevea's *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1909-1914) should be cited in the later revised edition of 1928, with the two volume continuation by Pio Zabala y Lera of 1930, when Professor Rippy revises his excellent survey, a revision which wide use will undoubtedly justify.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

University of Michigan.

Latin America in World Politics. By J. FRED RIPPY. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1931. Revised edition. Pp. 289. \$3.75.)

This volume has all the characteristics of Professor Rippy's best work. The arrangement of material is original, the presentation clear, and the style engaging. There has long been a need for a single volume that would give an accurate and unbiased account of the international relations of Hispanic America, and Professor Rippy has answered this need in a decisive fashion. In doing so he has not attempted to base

his study on manuscript materials, for only in Chapters V, VI, and VII, do we find much evidence of reliance on this type of source material. He has, however, with great care examined the most significant printed materials, both source and secondary, and has constructed a monograph that appeals to the informed reader not only from the viewpoint of scholarship, but also from that of attractive presentation.

In the early chapters of this volume there is ample evidence of Professor Rippy's ability to digest the contributions of other scholars in the field of Hispanic American history, but with the exception of Chapter V, there is little indication of any original contribution by Professor Rippy himself. It is only when we come to the second half of this volume that we are favored with a stimulating treatment of themes that are new, themes that show Professor Rippy as a path-breaker rather than a mere follower. In Chapter VIII there is a very valuable presentation of French public opinion with regard to the Monroe Doctrine. Many American scholars have assumed that from the days of Lafayette, French public opinion toward the United States has been unwaveringly friendly. Very few have realized that during the decade preceding the World War there was a persistent attack in the French press upon the motives of the United States with respect to Hispanic America. Many French editors assured their readers that the policy of the United States toward Hispanic America was one of unalloyed selfishness. At times this selfishness might be partially obscured by fine phrases of friendly feeling, but American actions clearly proved how unreliable were American promises. American coöperation during the World War saved France from certain defeat, but such a fact has been lightly regarded by these same French editors who during the past decade have again sounded with all their old-time ardor their denunciations of Yankee imperialism.

In a chapter that is as fresh as it is penetrating, Professor Rippy discusses the movement fostered by Spain to draw its former colonies within its intellectual orbit. He also indicates even how intellectual currents follow economic channels, and how difficult it is for Spain, with its negligible economic contact with Hispanic America, to extend its influence on this continent.

The last chapter in this volume is distinctly informing: "Yankee Hegemony and Latin-American Distrust." In a very impartial manner, Professor Rippy analyzes the reasons why the United States is

regarded with suspicion by Hispanic America. The unlovely picture of greedy America so familiar to many fearful publicists of Hispanic persuasion, is largely the result of suggestions from European editors who hasten to magnify American faults and minimize American achievement. Even though American imperialism had always been as idealistic as President Roosevelt declared it to be, yet, seen through the glass of European distortion, it would still have been fearsome enough to have given quick fright to most Hispanic-American politicians.

American University.

CHARLES C. TANSILL.

Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas with Incidental Reference to Louisiana. Translated and edited by ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER. (Deland: Florida State Historical Society, printed by Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. lxii, (1) 277. \$14.50 to members of the Society; \$17.00 to non-members.)

Dr. Whitaker's book, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy in the Floridas*, is the latest addition to the Florida State Historical Society Publications. As everyone who is familiar with these excellent publications knows, the Society aims to present a series of documents revealing some significant phase of Florida's history, edited carefully and explained by an introduction which gives them coherence and point.

In the present volume, the thirty documents have been drawn entirely from Spanish archives, mostly from the Archivo General de Indias at Seville: only two, according to the author, have been previously printed. Their content is therefore fresh and unspotted from historical handling. To increase the interest of the book for the lay reader whose linguistic ability is limited to the mother tongue, Dr. Whitaker has made an especially happy English version of the original records; but the scholar who wishes to prepare his own translation has the privilege of so doing inasmuch as the two texts, English and Spanish, are printed on opposite pages.

Florida is one of the few states of the Union whose early history was international as well as regional because its destinies were interwoven with the commercial and political policies of four nations, Spain, England, France, and the United States. Adequate handling of the subject necessitates a broad understanding of these aspects in

the author. Dr. Whitaker is well qualified for his task for he is a seasoned researcher in the period of which he writes and has already demonstrated his ability in the numerous contributions which have come from his pen.

The volume treats of the period 1779 to 1808, roughly speaking, and concentrates its discussion not on the monopolistic policy of Spanish colonial commerce but rather on the deviations therefrom to meet the demands of a revolutionary era. The population of East and West Florida was always sparse and conditions those of the primitive frontier; even trade to the neighboring Indian tribes proved disappointingly meager, and yet to these struggling provinces, Spain made remarkable concessions after 1783. The reasons thereof must be sought not in the merits of the case but in its relation to larger issues. As Dr. Whitaker points out in the historical introduction, the "costly provinces of Louisiana and the Floridas were maintained by Spain as a barrier against Anglo-American aggression" whether that aggression took the form of invasion, propaganda, or contraband trade. The object of such solicitous care was, of course, New Spain, always precious in the sight of the mother country for the wealth of its mines and markets. In addition, the whole region would be rendered more securely Spanish by controlling the Gulf of Mexico.

To the achievement of this much desired end, were opposed numerous obstacles which time was to prove insurmountable. In the first place, the revolutionary era, just beginning its sweep over western civilization, was to undermine forever the old colonial institutions. Secondly, the long open frontier of Louisiana and Florida presented a problem of military defense far in excess of anything Spain in its weakness could hope to solve. Lastly, came the Americans with their restless ambition and talk of "natural rights", a people to whom the frontier was "not a barrier but an opportunity". Little could be expected from France for it was the ally of both Spain and the United States. As for the Indians, "experience had shown that no amount of missionary zeal could turn these southern Indians to the service of Christ and the Spanish monarchy".

In such an impasse, nothing remained for the Spanish ministers but to turn to trade concessions and toleration. It was hoped that such a course would not only stave off invasion and conquest but would create thriving centers of trade and people the frontier with

new immigrants. The bars were first lowered by the cédula of 1782 permitting Spanish subjects residing in Spain, Louisiana, or West Florida to trade freely between New Orleans and Pensacola and ports of France maintaining Spanish consuls. The measure fell far short of expectations in the results which it was supposed to produce, while it fathered numerous other, less desirable, situations. Chief of all, it was the beginning of other broader concessions not only to France but also to England and to the United States. This apparent liberality was not due to any change of heart but was dictated solely by expediency. In time, Dr. Whitaker asserts, "Spain proposed to assimilate the commerce of these provinces to its typical system of monopoly as soon as a temporary liberality had strengthened them sufficiently to stand the shock."

The documents begin with the "Summary of a Representation of 1778 by Manuel de las Heras relative to the Decay of Commerce" and include a variety of official communications such as reports and correspondence of the governors, royal cédulas, memorials of interested laymen, minutes of the Suprema Junta de Estado, etc. Every selection has copious notes in which the editor has drawn on an abundance of additional documentary material. Four appendices give statistical tables relative to the Florida trade. There is also a bibliographical note citing the location and nature of the manuscripts used; as the book is something of a pioneer work, there are few secondary sources and Dr. Whitaker lists only those of special value.

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KATHRYN T. ABBEY.

Diplomatic Relations Between Brazil and the United States. By LAWRENCE F. HILL. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1932. Pp. x, 322. \$3.50.)

The work under review is the first attempt either in English or Portuguese to give a comprehensive survey of the diplomatic relations between the United States and the largest and most populous of the Hispanic American nations. The account is based chiefly on material carefully explored by the author in the archives of the state department at Washington. With a liberality worthy of the highest praise, this branch of our government permitted Professor Hill to work through the ministerial despatches, consisting of seventy-two large

volumes, up to August, 1906. The writer also had access to consular letters, instructions to American diplomatic agents, and the communications between the state department and the Brazilian agents at Washington. In addition to this voluminous manuscript material, Dr. Hill placed under requisition the relevant official publications of the two governments, a considerable number of contemporary newspapers of both countries, and the most important monographs dealing with his subject. Seldom has a writer on the post-colonial period of Hispanic America been vouchsafed the privilege of delving into as rich a quarry of hitherto all but unused historical material. A careful scrutiny of Dr. Hill's book shows that in the main the results have been commensurate with the opportunities.

The first four chapters, entitled respectively "Relations with the Portuguese Court", "An Inauspicious Beginning", "Some Improvement", and "Confusion and Misunderstanding" cover the narrative history of the years 1808-1852. The general outlines of this period have long been fairly well-known. But thanks to the researches of Dr. Hill the picture has immensurably gained in both depth and detail and many episodes and events hitherto ignored or neglected now appear in their true light. The limits of the present review unfortunately do not permit any analysis of these chapters. In general one gains the impression that our policy toward Brazil during this epoch was not infrequently both inconsistent and inept. Even the better of our envoys were often ill-supported by the Washington authorities. An excellent case in point was the failure of the state department, despite the pleadings of our minister, to congratulate Dom Pedro II. on the declaration of his majority in 1841.

The first major contribution made by Dr. Hill appears in Chapter V, entitled "The Abolition of the African Slave Trade to Brazil". As the author well says, it is the most important as well as the most intricate of all the subjects that fall within the century of Brazilian-American relations. The part which Great Britain, for motives philanthropic and philistine, had in suppressing the slave trade is well known. What is less recognized is the large and disgraceful share which citizens of the United States had in promoting this infamous traffic. Dr. Hill's careful analysis of the wealth of documents in the archives of the state department sheds a glaring light on one of the most sordid chapters in our history. The writer has for the first time

made clear the technique of the traffic and adequately explained how it was possible for slave dealers to employ American vessels and the Stars and Stripes in the prosecution of their nefarious business. The chief explanation is to be found in the practice of granting so-called "sea letters" to vessels sold abroad by one American citizen to another, the purchaser in turn "leasing" the ship to Brazilian slave dealers to take "merchandize" to and from the African coast. Enjoying as they did the protection of the United States flag the slavers could defy with impunity British squadrons. The authorities at Washington were kept fully informed of this abuse of our flag. Thus did Minister Wise on February 18, 1845 address his government:

I beseech—I implore the President of the United States to take a decided stand on this subject. You have no conception of the bold effrontery and the flagrant outrages of the African slave trade, and of the shameless manner in which the worst crimes are licensed here. And every patriot in our land would blush for his country, did he know and see as I do, how our own citizens sail and sell our flag to the uses and abuses of that accursed traffic in almost open violation of our laws. We are a "bye word among nations".

Dr. Hill hazards no estimate regarding the number of Americans involved in this business but it ran well into the thousands. It is certain, he adds,

that through the aid of the Yankees and of their flag several hundred thousand Negroes were transported from Africa to Brazil between 1835 and 1853.

Failure to prevent American participation in the slave trade may be accounted for in two ways: the non-enforcement of laws already on the statute books and the unwillingness to enact and enforce other laws. The *sine qua non* for bringing to an American the share of the traffic was a law forbidding the granting of sea letters to United States vessels sold in foreign parts but congress refused to take action. This apathy was owing, according to the author, to the influence of the lucrative business of shipbuilding in New England, to the unwillingness to coöperate with Great Britain which was charged by many with making use of the slave-trade suppression propaganda to secure acceptance of its old right of search, and finally to the rivalry between the United States and England growing out of attempts to secure a dominant position in Hispanic American affairs. To the reviewer it would seem that Dr. Hill has neglected to mention another

factor, namely, the preponderant influence which our southern states wielded in all branches of the federal government during this period.

Chapter VI, entitled "The Diplomacy of two New Yorkers", is an account of the activities of our minister, James Watson Webb, who was accredited to the imperial court from 1861 to 1869. The other New Yorker is Secretary Seward to whom Webb owed his appointment and with whom he worked hand in glove. The earlier years of Webb's mission were consumed in futile and at times childish protests against Brazil's recognition of the confederates as belligerents and the alleged complacency of the imperial authorities with the confederate "pirates and corsairs" operating in Brazilian waters. Dr. Hill neatly sums up this phase of our diplomatic history as follows:

Reflection upon Brazilian-American negotiations during the Civil War convinces one that the United States government, especially in denying Brazil's stand on neutrality, assumed a position contrary to the general practice of nations, and even to her own practice. The measures which her officials authorized to maintain that position are so asinine as to need no characterization.

Webb's other activities included a fantastic attempt to establish on the Amazon a colony of several million liberated Negroes from the United States, an effort to launch a steamship company of which he was to be chief beneficiary, the elaboration of an insensate plan to get Napoleon out of Mexico by an alliance between the United States and France for a war on England, and a bungling attempt at mediation during the Paraguayan War.

In Chapter VII, entitled "The Paraguayan War", the author departs in a number of respects from the conventional account of this somber and tragic chapter in South American history. López, the villain in the piece, emerges much less black than he is usually painted. The reviewer does not find himself in agreement with all of Dr. Hill's conclusions though he recognizes that they reflect the views of a number of eminent Platine historians. The futile attempts at mediation by the United States are well described by Dr. Hill and his researches in the archives have cleared up a number of important episodes. He has likewise rendered a real service in showing how utterly unreliable and prejudiced is Washburn's well-known and widely-quoted *History of Paraguay*. Finally, he has hit upon a vein of new material in the despatches of General McMahon, our minister to Paraguay from the summer of 1868 to the spring of 1869. McMahon had little use for

the allies whose "infamies surpass if possible the atrocities they charge upon their enemy". Our minister claims that the American legation at Asunción was robbed of its contents valued at a quarter of a million dollars by the Brazilians, that its furniture was appropriated for his residence by the allied commander, Marshal Caxias, and that during the allied occupation of the capital the archives of the legation were strewn about the streets. If this vandalism actually took place it is very surprising that no official protest was made and the reviewer feels loath to accept such charges without corroboration.

Chapters VIII and IX, entitled respectively "Opening Brazilian Rivers to World Commerce", and "Confederate Exiles to Brazil", are models of historical investigation and at the same time are replete with dramatic interest. Especially is this true of the latter topic. Dr. Hill has exhumed a wealth of new material much of it buried and all but forgotten in local papers throughout our southern states. He has shown that contrary to the generally accepted view a number of these colonies were successful and were not without influence on the social and economic development of Brazil.

The last two chapters, "From Empire to Republic in Brazil", and "Recent Tendencies", are somewhat in the nature of an epilogue. It is manifest that the writer's interests lie primarily in the period of the empire and the diplomatic relations since 1889 are accorded a rather summary treatment. But one page, for instance, is devoted to Brazil and the World War, despite the preponderant influence of United States diplomacy in inducing Brazil to enter the struggle. With the exception of the Acre controversy, based in part on hitherto unused material in the archives of the state department, the ground traversed by the writer is familiar. The reviewer cannot but voice his regret that Dr. Hill did not see fit to treat Republican Brazil with something like the same degree of completeness that he did the empire.

Taken as a whole this carefully documented and well-written monograph offers little ground for adverse criticism. An occasional slip in the spelling of proper names was perhaps inevitable though it is surprising that the first president of Brazil should on various occasions be referred to as "Deodora" instead of Deodoro. Prudente appears as "Prudento" (p. 281). The author, like many another writer on Hispanic America, is hard put to it in choosing a proper adjective

when referring to the United States. Usually he has employed the term "American", which though frequently causing umbrage in Spanish America is fairly acceptable to Brazil. Less happy is his repeated use of the word "Yankee" as synonymous with "American". This term has taken on certain connotations in Hispanic America which are far from flattering to citizens of the United States and its use, it seems to the reviewer, is to be deprecated in a book which deserves to be widely read throughout the southern republics. The somewhat awkward and inexact term "North-American" he has perhaps wisely avoided.

In a work covering such a variety of topics the problem of what to include is all but insoluble. While fully recognizing this difficulty the reviewer is somewhat surprised to see no reference to the recognition by Brazil of Maximilian's empire in Mexico (Oliveira Lima, "The Relations of Brazil with the United States", *International Conciliation*, August, 1913, p. 8), or to the proffer of Brazilian mediation during our Civil War (*Brazilian Green Book*, London, 1918, p. 70), or to the act of President Wilson in entrusting United States interests in Mexico to the Brazilian minister, Sr. Cardoso de Oliveira, during the latter days of the Huerta régime. And were one disposed to be captious in the matter of bibliography one might point out certain *lacunae* such as the chief Brazilian authority on slavery and the slave trade, namely, Perdigão Malheiro, *A Escrividão no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1866-1867), or the well-known work on the Paraguayan War by Louis Schneider with annotations by the Viscount of Rio Branco (*A Guerra da Triplíce Aliança . . .*), translated by Manoel Thomaz Alves Nogueira, and annotated by J. M. da Silva Paranhos (Rio, 1902), or the formidable series of works dealing with the Paraguayan question by the Uruguayan scholar and publicist, Dr. Luis Alberto de Herrera, entitled *La Diplomacia Oriental en el Paraguay* (5 vols., Montevideo, 1908-1926). Dr. Hill's account of the flouting of Brazilian neutrality by the *Alabama* might have been enriched with a number of piquant details from Admiral Semmes's somewhat cynical account of how he played fast and loose with the imperial authorities (*Memoirs of Service Afloat during the War between the States*, Baltimore, 1869). Perhaps the only really serious omission in the bibliography is the hundred page monograph of Professor N. A. N. Cleven on Webb's diplomatic activity in Brazil ("James Watson

Webb, United States Minister to Brazil, 1861-1869" in *Revista do Instituto Historico Brasileiro*, Tomo Especial, Vol. I, 1922). But these shortcomings—if such they are—do not detract from the value or usefulness of a work which will long remain authoritative on some of the most important phases of the diplomatic relations between Brazil and the United States.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

The Purchase of the Danish West Indies. [“The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1931”]. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Professor of American History, American University, Washington, D. C. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1932. Pp. xiii, 548. \$3.50.)

This is a very thorough and judicious investigation of the diplomacy of the United States with reference to the acquisition of the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. It covers the period from the summer of 1864, when Secretary William H. Seward first became interested in these islands, until their final purchase near the close of the year 1916.

Apparently Professor Tansill has overlooked no available source of information in the United States or elsewhere. Especially noteworthy is the fact that he has examined the archives of Denmark, Germany, and the United States, as well as the private papers of such American statesmen and diplomats as Theodore Roosevelt, John Hay, Henry White, and Robert Lansing.

The result of this extensive and painstaking search and a critical use of the materials discovered is a definitive monograph upon the subject. The first impression of the reader may be that the importance of the purchase of the Danish West Indies does not warrant so large a volume, but the reviewer believes that a more mature consideration will result in the conviction that the thoroughness of the study furnishes ample justification for the space employed. At any rate, few will turn away from the work with the impression that the field will ever have to be covered again.

The volume consists of eight chapters. The first two deal with the negotiation of the purchase treaty of October 24, 1867, and the unsuccessful struggle to secure its ratification by the senate of the United

States. The third, entitled "Watchful Waiting in the Caribbean", sets forth the numerous instances of uneasiness at Washington with reference to French, English, and especially German designs in the Caribbean, designs centering mainly around the Danish West Indies, but also thought to involve at times Haiti and the Dominican Republic. In general, Professor Tansill's conclusion is that the alarm of the United States was unnecessary and unfounded. The fourth chapter begins with the year 1899 and furnishes the background for the negotiations which eventually resulted in the treaty of January 24, 1902. The intriguing title of this chapter is "A Strange Interlude—The Christmas Mission", and it contains some seventy most interesting pages describing the efforts of speculators to persuade the governments concerned to negotiate a deal which would result in profitable commissions to the interested parties. It appears that the speculators failed to secure their graft, but that they nevertheless managed to effect the beginning of negotiations between Denmark and the United States. The next two chapters discuss in detail the negotiation of the treaty of 1902 and its defeat by the parliament of Denmark. The seventh chapter, perhaps the most significant of the work, adduces proofs "from the foreign office archives of both Denmark and Germany" which will "make it difficult for any future historian to conjure up again the old bogey of 'perfidious Allemagne'". The final chapter deals with the negotiation of the treaty of August 4, 1916, and the purchase of the Danish West Indies by the United States. And even in a section treating so recent a period the author has had access to manuscript sources.

In view of the high merit of the work, emphasis upon minor defects would hardly seem justified. There are, however, a few: Curaçao appears as "Curaçoa" (p. 156); the author makes too frequent use of the words "so" and "yet"; the first line on page 79 contains a superfluous "because of"; the word "than" would be better than "when" at the top of page 174; and brief summaries at the end of each long chapter would have made the reader's task more pleasant, although, in general, the style is clear and sprightly.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

La Expansión Territorial del Imperio Mexicano. By JAVIER O. ARAGÓN. [Monografía de Cultura Histórica.] (México: Imprenta del Museo Nacional, 1932. Pp. 115.)

Because of a certain precocity observed among many colonists returning to the motherland a curious belief developed in Spain that the sons of Spaniards born in the new world tended to mature at an exceedingly early age and, as if to compensate for this premature ripening, entered upon a correspondingly early intellectual decline. The latter part of this conclusion was flatly refuted by that clear-thinking Benedictine friar of the eighteenth century, Father Feijoo, and was subsequently discarded. The precocity of many youths born in the Indies of European parentage, however, was—and is—too plainly evident to be easily denied. Mexico today offers numerous examples of very young men who are performing brilliant work in various professions and undoubtedly one of these is the author of the monograph indicated above. Sr. Aragón is a youth not yet out of his teens who has produced a most creditable synthesis in a difficult field of historical investigation—the ancient Mexican empire. He has handled his sources in a masterly fashion, organized his material effectively, and presented it to his readers in terse, straightforward language devoid of all artificialities of style.

Part I consists of a single chapter in which the author offers a brief but competent description of the military organization of the Aztecs, their system of conquest and manner of waging war, and method of exacting tribute. Part II deals with the military activities of the successive Aztec monarchs until the coming of the Spaniards. A short but complete chapter is devoted to each of the nine recorded chieftains who ruled the destinies of a great Indian empire which the indomitable courage of Cortés was finally to conquer. The author presents a succinct account of the steady growth and territorial expansion of this empire by military means from the reign of Acamapichtli to that of Moctezuma Zocoyotzin. The reader's comprehension of this difficult subject is further facilitated by a large folded map of the Aztec empire indicating the names and locations of a total of 193 important towns and cities added to the domain of the ancient Mexicans from about the middle of the fourteenth century to the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. This chart, which is the work of the author, is, perhaps, his most distinct contribution to the subject.

Part III is another important section of this valuable monograph, for here in a series of appendices corresponding to each of the Aztec monarchs the author has given in tabular form the lists of areas conquered or influenced by the military operations of the successive Mexican chieftains. The names of these zones or regions appear in parallel columns under the name of the author's four chief sources of information. The latter are: the Codex Mendoza, Fray Diego Durán, H. A. Tezozomoc, and Clavijero. This schematic arrangement readily permits the reader to comprehend fully the testimony of these various authorities.

The bibliography is, perhaps, the most vulnerable part of this study and may possibly indicate that all the available sources have not been utilized. The specialists may note the absence of certain codices such as the so-called *Codex en Croix* (Anales de Cuauhtitlan, de Texcoco et du Mexique. Documents pour servir a l'histoire du Mexique. Catalogue raisonné de la collection de M. E.-Eugene Goupil (Eugene Boban, editor). Tome I, pp. 279-291, pls. 15-17, Paris, 1891) and the *Codex Telleriano-Ramensis* (Manuscrit mexicain du cabinet de Ch-M. Le Tellier, archeveque de Reims à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Reproduit en photochromographie aux frais du Duc de Loubat et precedé d'une introduction contenant la transcription complete des anciens commentaires Hispano Mexicains par le Dr. E-T Hamy. Paris, 1899). Boturini Benaduci (*Idea de una nueva historia general de la America Septentrional* and *Catálogo del museo histórico Indiano del Cavallero Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci*, Madrid, 1746) would seem important enough to consult in such a study. Since the author cites the opinion of Sigüenza y Góngora (p. 31), it would appear desirable to include a mention of the *Teatro de Virtudes Políticas* of this celebrated Mexican scholar of the seventeenth century. This is all the more advisable when it is recalled that Clavijero, upon whom Sr. Aragón leans heavily in his monograph, acknowledged that he had derived much of his information from the remnants of Sigüenza's great collection of Mexican antiquities that had come into his possession and constantly cites the opinions and conclusions of that learned creole savant.

It is not unlikely that specialists will find a few slight flaws in this brilliant survey of the territorial expansion of the great Aztec empire but it is certain that every interested student will find this an

invaluable means of familiarizing himself with the broad outlines of an exceedingly difficult subject—and this is no mean accomplishment for an experienced scholar. When it is recalled that this is the work of a youth, a student of law in Mexico City, who is already turning out capable monographs at an age when the majority of our American lads are just beginning their university career, we may well feel that this study is a bright promise of further riches.

University of California,
Berkeley.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

Djuka, the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana. By MORTON C. KAHN.
(New York: The Viking Press, 1931. Pp. xxiv, 233. Illus., plates, folded map. \$3.50.)

The object of this volume is the study of one of the most typical cases of the transplanting of a culture from the old world to the new. The book is also of special service in the investigation of contemporaneous societies in America. In her prologue to the work, Mrs. Blair Niles shows that this is not only the best study of the Djuka Negro, but that at times, the author's acute treatment forces very interesting comparisons with white civilization.

In the interior of Dutch Guiana is a unit of the population which has developed from Negro slaves who escaped from bondage about two hundred years ago. There has been some little admixture of Indian blood, but on the whole not so much as might be expected. Resisting all efforts of the Dutch to reënslave them, their rebellion proved successful and they actually entered into negotiations with their former masters in 1749 and again in 1761. Repeated rebellions of the Bush Negroes finally ended in 1775 when the Dutch wisely decided to leave them alone. The negotiations between the Dutch and Djuka recalls those between the English and the Maroons in Jamaica.

On gaining their liberty, the Djuka formed a tribal society similar to that they had had in Africa. Climatic and territorial conditions were not unlike those of Africa and favored the reproduction in Guiana of the social life of their ancestors. The manner in which these people succeeded in assimilating the old African traditions with the change demanded in America and in building a new society is very interesting.

The ancestors of the Djuka came mainly from the African Gold

Coast as a study of their musical instruments, their decorative designs, and the names of their deities prove. There were other admixtures of African blood, but the Negroes from the Gold Coast were numerically the greater and decided the character of the new population. In like manner, the Bantu were the chief element in the Negro population of Cuba and Brazil, and the Dahomey in Haiti.

The author has much to say of the drums of the Djuka, which resemble those of the Dahomey and those used in the Voodoo Rites of Haiti—a type of drum that can be seen in the national museum in Havana. For further information on these drums, the interested reader should consult Ankermann's monograph on African music. Of special interest also is the survival of wood carving among these people—an art, like the forging of iron, essentially African, and almost entirely lost in other American countries having large Negroid populations. This survival is doubtless owing to the isolation of the Djuka from the white man. A comparative study of the symbolical designs used by the Djuka with those of prehistoric culture, will offer curious analogies.

The volume, although eminently erudite and scholarly, can be read easily by the layman. When the chart of African influence among the peoples of America is constructed, Kahn's book will be fundamental for the Guiana region and will aid in completing the admirable works of G. Lindblom, L. C. Danhuys, and Melville J. Herskovits.

FERNANDO ORTIZ.

Washington, D. C.

Bolívar y León XII. By PEDRO LETURIA, S. J. (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, 1931. Pp. xviii, 181.)

In four chapters, covering 125 pages, the author has developed his narrative of the relations between Bolívar and Pope Leo XII. Interspersed with the narrative are quotations from numerous communications of Bolívar, of the pope, of agents of [Great] Colombia accredited to the papacy and of agents of the pope in [Great] Colombia. The author's purpose appears to be to show the Liberator's genuine interest in the maintenance of the Catholic Church in America, especially in the regions over which he exercised a greater or less measure of control.

Pages 129 to 181 are occupied by five appendices containing pertinent documents. Appendix IV contains five decrees issued by Bolívar in 1828. The first is against secret societies, the second concerns education and the ecclesiastical career, etc.

Written evidently as a labor of love and admiration both for Bolívar and for the Church by an apparently loyal son of the Church, the book's greatest usefulness will of course be among churchmen and historians of the Church.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

Washington, D. C.

Documentos del Archivo Universitario de Caracas, 1725-1810. By CARACCILOL PARRA. Volume I. (Caracas: Editorial Sur América, de Parra León Hermanos, 1930. Pp. ix, 320.)

This publication was issued in honor of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar, on the occasion of the centennial anniversary of his death. This first volume is divided into three chapters. The first, entitled "Erection and Installation of the University", begins by quoting the text of a royal order of Philip V., dated December 22, 1721, establishing the university; and a papal decree by Innocent XIII. on the same subject, dated December 18, 1722, comes next. Several other pertinent documents follow, the most important, probably, being the act of installation of the university, dated August 11, 1725.

The second chapter entitled "The University Organization" contains the first constitution of the university, which is divided into thirty-nine *titles* and covers pages 33 to 110. Four other pertinent royal decrees follow.

The third chapter, entitled "Royal Cédulas, Provisions, and Orders", contains the texts of 104 such documents issued between June 9, 1737 and December 2, 1808, which bear on various phases of the life of the university.

The *preliminary word*, or preface, indicates that the collection is to be composed of several volumes; but how many there will be or when they are to appear is not indicated. Among their multifarious proposed contents are to be monographs of graduates and the names of the various rectors, vicerectors, secretaries, professors, and students.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

Washington, D. C.

Latin American Problems. Their relation to our Investor's Billions.

By THOMAS F. LEE. With a foreword by HENRY KITTREDGE NORTON. (New York: Brewer, Warren & Putnam, 1932. Pp. 339. \$2.50.)

This book is an amusing *causerie* of a traveling financier. Mr. Lee possesses imagination and understands what he observes. The main characteristic of his book is an intrinsic dilettantism. His prophecy of a combination of the antique commune with modern industrialism is influenced more by Stuart Chase, whom he does not quote, than by Waldo Frank, whom he admires. Mr. Lee does not explain the relation between the revived Indianism and the new billions of dollars to be invested in Hispanic America. His picture of the American (that is, the American of the United States) as a developer is wrong. It is the huge corporation which has predominated since the War and not the individual.

The absence of form, minor errors, poor and very incidental bibliography, etc., are typical of this kind of publication. The confusion of balance of trade and balance of payments in this book, is unexpected from a practical financier.

J. F. NORMANO.

Harvard University.

Liberty, the Story of Cuba. By HORATIO S. RUBENS. (New York: Brewer, Warren, and Putnam, Inc., 1932. Pp. 447. \$2.50.)

The author of this volume was general counsel to the Cuban Junta during the war of independence in Cuba. In that capacity, he had to handle the intricate problems arising from the efforts of the Cubans to have their rights as belligerents recognized by the United States; as well as the numberless cases in which the Spanish agents obtained the seizure of Cuban expeditions fitted out in the United States for the purpose of conveying war materials to Cuba. Undoubtedly, he had closer relations with the Cuban revolutionists than any other American and was on the "inside" of all their inmost secrets. His volume is, therefore, to be relied on.

The greatest mind of the Cuban revolution, was, by all odds, José Martí, philosopher, writer, poet, lecturer, a revolutionist of the school of Mazzini. His efforts, it was, which prepared the soil for the revolution. But, before three months of actual warfare had expired,

he fell in battle against the Spaniards at Dos Ríos. Martí was an extraordinary man, both in his thought and in the expression of himself in his writings. He is almost unknown in the United States although he is being studied and praised in all parts of Hispanic America and even in Spain itself. In bringing him to the notice of the people of the United States, Mr. Rubens has performed a great service.

In his treatment of the Santiago campaign of the Spanish-American War, Mr. Rubens does full justice to the efforts of the Cubans. The chapter dealing with the attempts of President McKinley to settle the Cuban struggle and the ultimate fate of Cuba is a most important contribution. It strengthens the belief of the present reviewer that McKinley was in favor of annexing Cuba had there been any way to sidestep the joint resolution regarding Cuban independence. Mr. Rubens also tells us his theory regarding the blowing up of the *Maine*. The present reviewer is not far from accepting his explanation—at least partially—and hopes at some time in the future to complete the investigations Mr. Rubens has made.

Some parts of the book might better have been omitted—for instance the chapter dealing with the Ezetas, which has nothing to do with the main subject of the work. At times, also, the author is prodigal of his praise to men not deserving his high encomiums—men who were very obscure during the war and whose rise since then has been questionable. Mr. Rubens is the last man who can be mistaken about such men. It would have been better for all concerned had he written only of the time when he was acting as an invaluable counsel to those Cubans who were striving to establish a republic “for the benefit of all”, as José Martí said.

HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ.

Washington, D. C.

The Hussey-Cumberland Mission and American Independence. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931. Pp. ix (1), 195. \$3.50).

If misery loves company, the observer of modern society, disillusioned by its circuitous routes, will find Dr. Bemis's book good company, for he narrates therein one of the many interesting and unethical intrigues of European diplomacy.

The common interpretation in past years of the policy of his most Catholic Majesty during the fateful years 1776-1783 revealed a semi-moribund state, stalemated between weakness and fear, unable to follow any consistent action. Recent historical scholarship, supported by a wealth of hitherto unused evidence, portrays a well defined objective on the part of Spain and clear paths directed toward its achievement. It was not because Spain did not know its own mind that it usually did not get what it went after. As the study of the *Hussey-Cumberland Mission* ably indicates, this policy gave France many a moment of nightmare and missed profoundly influencing America's destiny by a hair's breadth.

In spite of the fact that war was declared against England on June 22, 1779, and that by the terms of the Convention of Aranjuez, Spain had promised France not to communicate with the enemy, negotiations were unofficially prolonged between the two courts. Spain was still humiliated by French independence in the matter of the treaty of 1778 with the colonies and felt that if its ends could be achieved by negotiation rather than by military victory, it would be worth the effort. England's obvious reluctance to increase the number of its foes gave promise of the possibilities of success.

Accordingly, when the Spanish ambassador quitted London, there remained one Thomas Hussey, Irish clergyman and chaplain of the embassy, as head of the Spanish intelligence service. In some way, Hussey made contact with Richard Cumberland, secretary of the Board of Trade and protégé of Lord George Germain, and intimating that Spain preferred peace to war, suggested that he, Hussey, be sent to sound out the situation. The British cautiously sanctioned the venture, thus initiating a series of events of two years' duration.

Both governments were discretion personified, Floridablanca even going to the length of writing Hussey's memoranda so as to make it appear the latter's own opinions, but the agent succeeded in conveying many false impressions. The Spanish ministers supported the move and decided to say nothing to France until definite terms could be discussed. England never was entirely specific regarding the policies that might be found acceptable by its partner in crime. Spain would make peace provided it received Gibraltar; under certain conditions, it would urge France to accept a peace which left the colonies dependent on Great Britain.

The British had no intention of ceding Gibraltar, but a continuation of the negotiations bid fair to be profitable. Richard Cumberland was, therefore, permitted to accompany Hussey to Spain in 1780 and to confer with Floridablanca provided the latter agreed not to mention Gibraltar or the status of the colonies. Although Cumberland was directed to leave Spain should these assurances not be forthcoming, he allowed himself to be enticed by half statements and ambiguous phrases into a lengthy and futile negotiation. Eventually he was recalled.

The Hussey-Cumberland Mission "portended great events which did not come to pass" and are, therefore, significant for their intent rather than their achievement. Dr. Bemis closes his study with an excellent discussion of this phase and thus makes another contribution to the incompleting story of American independence. The failure of Spain's efforts to negotiate a peace, he attributes to England's refusal to pay the price rather than to any sense of obligation to France, although one of the Spanish objectives was undoubtedly the discovery of a loophole to relieve its ally of pledges to America. In spite of the fact that France was not fully informed of the negotiations, that country was so apprehensive of the situation that it had worked out a compromise peace as an emergency measure. Thus the fate of the unconscious colonies hung on the turn of the diplomatic wheel until they were saved by the Franco-American victory at Yorktown. To use Dr. Bemis's own picturesque language:

With Hurricane warnings set and a rocky shore on his lee, Vergennes had reefed his canvas and chartered a track . . . toward the port of compromise. Rather unexpectedly he was able to guide his many-masted diplomatic craft under full sail beneath serene skies into the haven of complete victory.

The study is an able piece of scholarship. There are ample, in places, voluminous footnotes, and an appendix consisting of a dozen official documents, Spanish, French and British. Maps showing the relative positions of Spanish and military positions in America are placed on the front and back covers.

KATHRYN T. ABBEY.

Florida State College for Women.

Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780.

By PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932. Pp. xii, 351. Map and Illustrations. \$5.00.

A volume by Mr. Means is always welcomed by scholars and students, for the author is well known for the accuracy of his research and the skill of his composition (which is here delightful in style and typically "Meansesque" even to the footnotes); and certainly this new book is no exception to the rule despite the fact that a few slight errors have appeared, as for example, the date of the death of Balboa (p. 16). This work continues the task begun in the author's *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes* and carries the story through the period of Spanish invasion, conquest, and colonial consolidation of the Viceroyalty of Peru to the beginning of the revolt of Tupac Amaru II.

Commencing in Chapter I with the last years of the Inca empire the author describes in Chapter II the coming of the Europeans and the shock of the two civilizations. In Chapter III the early friction between the conquistadores is depicted, while in Chapter IV the civil tumults of the years 1541 to 1568 are shown and analyzed. The consolidation of the colonial government is described in Chapter V. The two following chapters clearly distinguish between theory and practice in Spanish administration, and in the opinion of the reviewer they, with the next two chapters, constitute the best part of the work. Chapter VIII treats largely of economic and other material affairs, while Chapter IX deals with intellectual phases. The final chapter is entitled "Conclusion" and emphasises the fact that the natives under the Incas enjoyed greater prosperity and less oppression and misery than under the Spaniards who were imbued with a "money-complex" which was the result of their conquest of rich and comparatively highly civilized people. On the other hand, however, the "religious-complex" tended to make the Spaniards "profoundly magnanimous" toward the natives. Mr. Means feels that much of the evil in colonial Peru was due to the "space-time complex" (7,000 miles and 8 months from the mother country), and to the fact that the colony was considered the personal property of the crown. The author concludes that the best form of government which the Spanish monarch could have established in Peru was the feudal system.

Besides twenty-nine well chosen illustrations the book contains a most thorough working bibliography of twenty-five pages, and an in-

dex and glossary which will do credit to any book. One wishes, however, that the careful volume compiled by Miss Stella Clemence entitled *The Harkness Collection. Peru 1531-1651* could have been completed early enough to have been placed in his bibliography and cited in the footnotes.

Throughout the book, events and institutions are quite equally stressed, and theory and practice are always contrasted. Moreover, the influence of individuals in the history of Spain's overseas colonies is made fully evident. Especially is this true in the case of Toledo whose régime marked the turning point in Spanish policy in general and Peruvian history in particular. Mr. Means has proven in this volume, as in the previous one, that he is eminently fitted to complete the story of Peru in a third volume which he plans to call *The Andean Republics in Modern Times*.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

The George Washington University.

La Instrucción en Caracas, 1567-1725. By CARACCILO PARRA. (Caracas: Parra León Hermanos, 1932. Pp. xii, 310. Documentos, pp. 99*).

Caracciolo Parra, vice-rector of the University of Caracas, has given us in the above work a companion study to the notable volumes of Juan de Díos Méndez y Mendoza, *Historia de la Universidad Central*, to which he acknowledges indebtedness. Together these furnish an excellent account of education in colonial Caracas and constitute a most important contribution to the institutional history of Venezuela.

Parra joins Angel César Rivas, Vallenilla Lanz, and others in their reaction against the destructive criticism in which ardent national historians, heirs of the revolutionary resentment against the mother country, have unfortunately often supported foreign writers. Only a relatively high colonial culture and progressive policy can explain, the author insists, the emergence of the leaders of the revolution against Spain. How can one account otherwise for the appearance of a Simón Bolívar and an Andrés Bello? It is gratifying to see the increasing appreciation among Hispanic-Americans themselves of Spain's phenomenal colonial effort and its remarkable achievement.

Admitting that education in the Spanish dominions in America was narrowly theological in content and scholastic in method, the

author recognizes this condition as the fault of the age, of the stage of European civilization, and not of Spain. That Venezuela did not have educational accommodations equal to those of Mexico and Peru, he attributes not to intentional neglect by Spain but to the fact that its population and resources did not justify and could not support a larger establishment. Moreover, educational expansion was held back often by causes purely local in nature, the bitter *competencias* between civil and ecclesiastical authorities. *Competencias* characterized in particular the episcopal administrations of Bohórquez and Tovar; in the first case, the secure establishment of the grammar schools was thereby delayed; in the second, the foundation of the seminary.

Primary schools were organized in Caracas soon after the foundation of the city in 1567. The first schools were private. Public education had its beginning in the royal *cédula* of 1592, providing for the foundation of a grammar school under municipal control. Decrees of 1608 and 1614 gave more secure economic foundation and hence permanence to the public schools.

The clergy were primary agents in the promotion of public education. Moreover, three conventual schools were established in the seventeenth century with chairs of theology, ethics, and philosophy. In 1696, the Seminary of Santa Rosa was opened and, in 1725, the Royal and Pontifical University.

If this history appears to be primarily biographical, it should be recalled that Venezuela was peculiarly decentralized and individualized, so that institutional evolution can be surveyed best through an analysis of the personal forces. The especially notable work of the bishops, Alcega, Angulo, Baños y Sotomayor, and Escalona y Catalayud is given merited emphasis.

The author has drawn his material largely from manuscript sources. A small list of secondary works is given in the bibliography. Extensive use has been made of the manuscript collections found in the Archives of the Archbishopric of Caracas, the cathedral parish archives, the National Archives, the Municipal Archives of Caracas, the Archives of the University, and the Archives of the Indies. The addition of a section of documents increases the value of the book.

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MARY WATTERS.

French Opposition to the Mexican Policy of the Second Empire. By FRANK EDWARD LALLY. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XLIX, No. 3.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1931. Pp. 163. \$1.50.)

Dr. Frank E. Lally begins his thesis with an introductory survey of French relations with Mexico from the time of Lasalle to 1860. This summary, based largely on Bancroft's *Mexico*, shows the growth of the friction which culminates in the intervention. The arguments of Napoleon III. and his supporters, whether based on ignorance, "aggressive altruism", or selfish ambition, fit the formula for modern imperialism: economic rivalry and the protection of bondholders, the need for a stable government, the civilizing mission, and the appeal to patriotism for the support of national honor and prestige.

Freedom of debate, allowed to the Corps Législatif in 1860, and the freedom of the press, within certain limits, gave the opponents of imperialism an opportunity to express themselves and, incidentally, furnished the chief material for this study. The opposition questioned the justification of fighting for Jecker's bonds, it would know why France was deserted by England and Spain, it asked for facts about French support of Maximilian, it challenged the right of intervention, it refused to believe that the Monroe Doctrine would not be upheld, and it denied the reports that France was acting according to the "will of the Mexican people".

Even though the author treats the opposition with sympathy, he does not try to emphasize its importance; on the contrary, he comes to the conclusion that "It was an opposition futile throughout". It remained a "radical" minority whose oratory and press created an impression of influence far beyond its voting strength. However, the voting strength does not give a fair estimate of French opposition, since the emperor used his influence to have favorable members elected to the corps. Of the four causes given by C. A. Duniway for the withdrawal of the French from Mexico (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1902, I. 313-328), Lally would reject the French opposition, leaving only three: the precarious situation in Mexico, the threatening situation in Europe, and the warning of the United States.

The most serious criticism of the work is the use of broad and sweeping statements, for example, "The mother country [Spain] had

never dealt justly with the colony" (p. 13). Furthermore, the author assumes that the reader is thoroughly familiar with the events in Mexico, which is probably justifiable in a thesis, but a more substantial framework would have been helpful for the understanding of the conflicting views in France.

JOHN RYDJORD.

Municipal University of Wichita.

The Lowland Indians of Amazonia. By K. G. GRUBB. (London: World Dominion Press, 1927. Pp. x, 159. 5 shillings.)

The River Plate Republics. By WEBSTER E. BROWNING. (London: World Dominion Press, 1928. Pp. vi, 139. 5 shillings.)

The West Coast Republics of South America. By WEBSTER E. BROWNING, JOHN RITCHIE, AND KENNETH G. GRUBB. (London: World Dominion Press, 1930. Pp. iv, 183. 5 shillings.)

The Northern Republics of South America. By KENNETH G. GRUBB. (London: World Dominion Press, 1931. Pp. vi, 151. 5 shillings.)

The Republic of Brazil. By ERASMO BRAGA AND KENNETH G. GRUBB. (London: World Dominion Press, 1932. Pp. [iv], 184. 5 shillings.)

These five works belong to the "World Dominion Survey Series", a series which "attempts to describe briefly and clearly the situation in various countries from the standpoint of world evangelization". They are written by Protestant clergymen or missionaries, who, for the most part, have an intimate first-hand knowledge of the subject.

The first of the volumes listed deals with the lowland Indians of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, and the Guianas, thus embracing a much larger area than the title indicates. But the author emphasizes the Indians of the Amazon and the Orinoco basins. To the three centuries of Roman Catholic effort in this vast area he gives scant attention, although he is not entirely oblivious of that effort. In the appendix of his volume, indeed, he gives a list of such Roman Catholic missions as have been "constituted for the especial purpose of reaching the lowland Indians". Presumably he includes only the missions which were in existence in 1927.

Mr. Grubb estimates that there are some four hundred thousand Indians in Lowland Amazonia and describes many of the tribes in

detail. Such descriptions, considered in connection with the maps upon which the habitats of the Indians are located, should prove of value to students of the Catholic Missions of Spanish and Portuguese America during the colonial period as well as to anthropologists and evangelicals of the present day. Hitherto, Protestant effort among these Indians has borne little fruit—and perhaps it might be added that the much more extensive work of the Catholics can hardly be described as a success.

Dr. Browning's volume represents an attempt to survey briefly the social, economic, and especially the religious conditions which prevail in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. Having been connected for years with Protestant work in the area, he writes as an eyewitness. The historical data which he presents are too scanty to be of great value except in the section dealing with the history of Protestant propaganda, and to the student of the general history of this region, the subject emphasized is comparatively of minor importance. After a century of Protestant missionary labor, "the total membership of the Evangelical Churches in the three Republics does not exceed twenty thousand" (p. 86). Although the author is not entirely ignorant of the Catholic missionary labors of the colonial period, he gives scant attention to this heroic epoch.

The volumes treating the West Coast Republics and the Northern Republics of South America follow a uniform organization which embraces a brief discussion of geographical factors and history, a survey of present-day economic and social conditions, and a much more extensive examination of the history, location, and present state of Protestantism in the republics of Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, and Venezuela, in which nations the Evangelicals number some thirty-five thousand communicants. Once again, however, comparatively little attention is given to Roman Catholic missions.

The survey of Brazil is largely the work of a native Protestant and one of the best of the series. Following the same plan of the two works just mentioned, Braga goes into greater detail. With slightly more than thirty-five thousand communicants, the Protestants have made greater progress in Brazil than in any other country of Ibero America.

Of the series as a whole it may be said that they present a valuable sketch of the history of Protestant work in South America and a full

statement of the extent of contemporary Protestant occupation, as well as considerable information relative to economic and social conditions. Moreover, the volumes contain many valuable maps and furnish the historian interested in the problem of church and state in South America or in the frontier missions of the Roman Catholic Church since the close of the sixteenth century several helpful suggestions and clues for the further investigation of subjects hitherto given inadequate attention.

Indeed, to the present reviewer, it appears that Protestant missionaries should not forget the Catholic *Conquistadores* of the Cross and that the writers of these surveys would have done well to place more emphasis upon this topic. It does not seem unreasonable to suppose that four centuries of Catholic labor among the Indians of South America might yield something of value as to method of procedure as well as a measure of inspiration to those who are engaged in the present task of ministering to the moral and religious life of the natives of the region.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress: Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru, 1531-1651. Compiled by STELLA R. CLEMENCE. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1932. Pp. x, 336. \$3.25.)

This is an important contribution in an interesting field. As a calendar it is a model. Both in respect of the information imparted by it and the method followed in its compilation, this calendar should, and undoubtedly will, have wide use by scholars. Its compiler has acquitted herself of a difficult task in a manner that merits the highest praise. The results of her careful, discriminating, and accurate work, will stand the test of use.

In a short preface to the calendar, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, under whose direction the calendar was compiled, tells something of the provenance of the documents of the Harkness Collection. These manuscripts, which were gathered together from two sources by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, relate (about equally) to the early Spanish history of Mexico and Peru. It was at Dr. Rosenbach's suggestion that Mr. Edward S. Harkness gave them to the Library of Congress; and

they form, undoubtedly, one of the most important mass of papers for the history of the early conquest and the beginnings of organized government in America. The present calendar concerns itself with the Peruvian section of the documents and covers the period 1531-1651, with one document of 1740. Many of the manuscripts relate to Francisco Pizarro and his brothers, to Diego Almagro, and others to Hernando de Soto and others of the conquistadores. The great majority of them are of the sixteenth century. Taken as a whole they give an intimate picture of the life of early Spanish Peru, and considered individually, they confirm and add to previous knowledge.

In her notes immediately preceding the calendar, Miss Clemence gives valuable information relative to the classes of documents in the collection, and explains the methods that guided her in her work. It is of interest to note that the manuscripts (1405 folios in all) fall into four classes, namely, notarial instruments, royal cédulas, vice-regal decrees, and two *Libros de Cabildo* of frontier towns. They are practically all original documents, any copies being for the most part insertions in original documents. All of these materials were included in the calendar except the minutes and acts of the councils of the two books of cabildo mentioned above, which "defy condensation". All documents inserted in these books, however, have been included in the calendar. An important aid is the list of the notarial material by notaries (pp. viii-ix) in which are shown the localities, dates, number of instruments, and the form in which they are now filed. On pp. 297-304 is a list of the persons mentioned in the uncalendared minutes of the cabildos. This is one of the most useful features of the volume, for it will serve to identify many of the persons of the early period in Peru.

Miss Clemence is now transcribing and preparing for publication about 100 letters of this collection. It is to be hoped that she will later make a similar calendar of the Mexican documents in the Harkness Collection and prepare the most important of the manuscripts for publication.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Historia de la Provincia de Sancta Marta y nuevo Reino de Granada.

3 vols. By PEDRO DE AGUADO. (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, S.A., 1930. Pp. 455; 447; 424. Paper.)

The full title of this new edition of this important chronicle is: "Primera Parte de la Recopilación historial resolutoria de Sancta Marta y Nuevo Reino de Granada de las Indias del Mar Océano en la cual se trata del primer Descubrimiento de Sancta Marta y Nuevo Reino, y lo en él subcedido hasta el Año de sesenta y ocho: con las Guerras y Fundaciones de todas las Cibdades y Villas de él hecho y acahado por el reverendo Padre Fray Pedro de Aguado, Fraile de la Orden de Sanet Francisco de la regular Observancia, Ministro provincial de la Provincia de Sancta Fee, del mismo Nuevo Reino de Granada; el cual va repartido en dieciseis Libros. Dirigido a la S. C. R. M. del Rey Don Felipe nuestro Señor, segundo deste Nombre." As seen in the above full title, the chronicle was written during the reign of Philip II and consisted of two parts. The first part, however, was not published until 1906, in Bogotá, with the title "Recopilación historial; escrita en el Siglo XVI"; and the second part at Caracas, in 1913-1915, by the Academia Nacional de la Historia, under the title "Historia de Venezuela". The first part was again published in Madrid, in 1916-1917, under the editorship of Jerónimo Bécker; and the second part in Madrid, in 1918-1919, under the same editorship. The present work is only the first part. The typography is excellent and the format good. But there is no preface or indication of any sort as to the provenance of the book. One must go to the bibliographies or to the other editions to get necessary data. This and the lack of an index are drawbacks to an otherwise excellent piece of work.

The original manuscript of the chronicle (both parts) is conserved in the Muñoz Collection of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. The volumes are evidently a reprint of the Bécker edition. They are of great importance for the history of Colombia. The publishers have been active recently in reprinting important historical works.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH¹

The epidemic of revolutions that recently swept through South America has nearly spent itself. Most of the republics are showing symptoms of recovery. One has reëstablished legal administration. In another, the last constitutional president and his leading partisans—he a prisoner, they outcasts—won the first elections. In still another, some of the most ardent chiefs of the revolutionary party have become the most eloquent advocates of lawful constitutional government. This may seem strange. And yet it is quite easy to understand, for revolution evidently leads to disillusionment. Before it is tried, those who believe in it think it a kind of philosopher's stone that transfigures all it touches, making a golden utopia out of an every-day world. To see if this is true, let us study the case of political mutation in Brazil.

At the present moment, discretionary power, although on the wane, still holds sway. The "chief of the provisional government" now in the second year of his administration, seconded by his ministers, decrees all laws, without the aid of congress, which has been dissolved. They administer the laws enacted by themselves, and further, pass on them judicially. First three, and now one, of the secretaries of state figures among the judges of the "extrajudiciary Court of Administrative Correction" which is trying the political administrative acts of those in office before the revolution. Here we have government reduced to a form in which the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary powers are combined into one—a situation provided against by the small Greek democracies of antiquity. Further, we have a typical extrajudiciary court of the type to which all extraditionary law forbids the surrendering of political refugees.

How does this form of administration work? That is the question that holds the interest of all Brazil.

Gone are the first hours of revolutionary glamor, when a blood-

¹ Since this analysis was received, various disorders have occurred in South America. The reader will, of course, bear recent events in mind.—Ed.

stained shirt, the outcome of some local brawl waved at rural communities by loud-voiced agitators, was potent enough to transform peaceful citizens into brawling mobs. Gone are the days of glory when the bottom-dog rejoiced because the heads of the State had been laid low. The incendiary pyres of the pro-government press have long burnt out. The carnival of red bunting held on the 26th of October, 1930, celebrated with ambulances and refuse-lorries is past. The brown-skinned northern soldiers do not roast any more whole oxen in the grounds of the senate. The spur-jangling, wide-cloaked southerners, with the names of their local heroes printed on their gay beribboned hats are no longer seen tying their horses to the capital's monuments.

The stevedores who dropped their tools in the shipyards of the government, proclaiming that there was "no more work and no more boss", have had to pick them up again, if they would earn a living. The principal grievance against the former president of the republic was that he wished to stabilize the exchange at a low par. Since then the currency has gone down vertiginously to depths undreamed of. Government does far more what it pleases than before. The press is censured. Administration is expensive. Revolutions cost money and the tax-payer has heavy bills to meet. In one word: The revolutionary spell has been pronounced, with the ceremony complete (no detail of ritual was omitted) and yet, it has not worked. Poverty, disease, labor are still with us.

At the present moment two groups of Brazilians seem satisfied—those who hold office and the fanatics. Each of the first tries to carry out his favorite theories, with the most kaleidoscopic results. Those of the second group have organized, rather keep organizing and re-organizing a tribunal for the trial of their enemies, where they meet and issue sentences of loss of citizenship and financial indemnisation for real or supposed embezzlement of public monies, choosing their victims among those who have the most virulent local enemies and those whose prestige points them out as dangerous rivals in future elections.

The petty agitators, the village opportunists, the mean souls who are ever full of hatred and venom against their fellows who have succeeded in public life, have discovered their mistake. During the first heydays of rejoicing when they could burn, pillage, and insult to their hearts content, they were quite unconscious that they were sim-

ple tools in the hands of the real leaders, soon to be discarded like soiled gloves. After exhibiting their hideous grievances in public they have been hustled from the market-place. One sees or hears of them no longer.

Their disappearance has been succeeded by the eclipse of others far more respectable and weightier than they. The purple robes of the cardinal were much in evidence at the palace on the day when the president was deposed but they rarely grace political gatherings now. There was one moment when the prince of the Church held the stage and was symbolic of all Brazil, but now he has subsided into gentle and Christian pleading in favor of the chief victims of the catastrophe. The revolutionary government has made overtures to the Church, in the form of an unconstitutional law allowing the teaching of religion in the lay schools of the republic. But as this covers all creeds it is hardly likely to satisfy the dominant sect. The one priest put into office as state governor turned out most unfortunate. After violent accusations in the press charging breach of his vows of celibacy, he was suspended from holy orders and forfeited his governorship in favor of "some lieutenant of the army" to quote his own words. Yes, for is the army not all powerful in times of revolution? Since the days of Rome, unruly legions have been the driving force of rebellion. And in South America, the army believes itself predestined to "cleanse politics". All the first executives swept into office by the tidal wave of South American revolutions were of the military caste. In Brazil, at the risk of almost sundering north from south, young captains secured nearly all the state governorships. In the extreme north, one has introduced the tropical helmet always unpopular in Brazil. In the northeast, one of the few revolutionaries of the navy governs the woman suffrage state. He is laboriously trying to carry out a program almost entirely identical with that most successfully introduced by the last legal governor who was a pioneer in sociology and economics, whom he derides most bitterly. Further south, one of the largest states has fallen to the lot of a youngster in the early twenties, who before taking office went around anxiously begging information from everyone about this new fief. The whole north is the zone of influence of the military leader, Juarez Farara, of whom the press says that he is "captain in the south and general in the north" and who is derisively named the Viceroy of North

Brazil as were the governors of half the country in colonial days. And last, but not least, there was the late colonel-governor of São Paulo, who has it that beggars are a most noble class for there is no vanity in them.

Some of these helmeted volunteers are earnest, some are willing, some are anxious to do well. For years the military has been clamoring for a chance to put its theories to practical test. The chance has been awarded them, but applied to practical politics, what is the virtue of the military shibboleths? Crisis on crisis arises and the soldier governors are powerless to avert them. Could one look into the hearts of those among them who really believe in their God-given mission, one would find as much disappointment in them as elsewhere. Does the army still believe in itself as an efficient agent of government?

What about the civil elements? Those who were politicians before the revolution maintained themselves in office for a long time. Times were troubled no doubt, but if times had not been troubled they would never have had such a chance. Their popularity is waning, but they are no longer oppositionists. They represent power, and power is never popular.

One of the principal characteristics of the revolutionary administration is that everyone does as he pleases. The fanatics play around with their "court of administrative corrections" teasing their victims like monkeys plucking out the feathers of hens. The state governors, although appointed by the central administration, make a judicious selection of the decrees issued for their benefit. This one refuses to observe the "statutes for the conduct of state-governors". That one will not have religious instruction in schools, for he believes in the separation of Church and State. Who cares? Everyone is happy! Who is to interfere with them? Not the president. He lives in a residential palace and goes daily to his office. He gives his audiences, edits his decrees, reëdits them, issues them, withdraws them, issues them again. Crises arise and unseat the lesser administrators. All serene, he slows the crises down and conjures them. The man in the street calls him "*xeizei*", after a vegetable that only tastes of the gravy, or "old stick in the mud", because, although the political tides sway him this way and that, they leave him as firmly anchored as before. He will be dictator as long as dictatorship is possible and, when another revolution seems imminent, he will call elections.

Some directors of government bureaus have obtained minor improvements. Well known lawyers have been gathered into sub-committees for the purpose of reforming all branches of legislation. Many have shown goodwill, culture, and progressive ideas. As preparatory committees they are far more effective than the committees of congress. A few ambitious and outstanding citizens who took no share in the revolution itself, let themselves be prevailed upon to accept office under the impression of a life chance to create immortal names. They are withdrawing again.

And the people, what of them? Out of the depths of public opinion flows the undertow that swells the ever-waxing current for the reestablishment of a legally elected administration. The nation, or part of it, may once have believed in dictatorship. It may have thought that revolution was a thunderstorm that clears the air and makes everything fresher and more beautiful. But most of those who adhered to the movement did so because they were hard up and thought the change might improve the business outlook. When former President Washington Luis was interviewed at the first port of call on his way to exile to Europe, the only statement he would make was, "My government was upset by the economic situation". Is that not true? Are not all revolutions due to economic grievances? And that no revolution improves things economically is equally true. The political situation of this country has not bettered, the economic one is worse. So the public now shakes its head and is all for legal government. The dictator has decreed a day-light saving bill. "Revolution has advanced Brazil one hour", sums up bitterly the man in the street.

A curious phenomenon is that offered by the former enthusiasts who scoured the country waving red handkerchiefs, preaching rebellion. After occupying high posts of public office or retirement to their own lucrative professions, they began to strain like hounds on the leash, and finally they left the government suddenly and are now leading the current for reestablishing democracy. Soon they will be off on a second crusade, this time with white handkerchiefs in favor of the constitution.

The more turbulent section of the press after having long been "muzzled" as a precaution against excessive abuse of the dictatorial government has now been released and with much vituperation of the

powers that he is acclaiming the enthusiasts and egging them on to the second crusade as it did toward the first.

When the revolutionary government becomes discouraged by the knowledge that it is unable to create a "new Brazil" and by the desertion of its partisans (or perhaps guided by its training in politics), it may realize that the days of discretionary power are numbered, and that elections *may* come. The chief difficulty lies in keeping the former politicians out, for the latter soon have the sympathies of the ostracized and the prestige of oppositionists. If the census is low and the vote popular, the former leaders will all return. If high, a new set of amateurs, recruited from the liberal professions, university professors, and successful men of business will succeed them. In any case the present officeholders have little chance of return through election by the people of Brazil.

All Brazil seems to clamor for the reestablishment of a lawful régime. Those that are interested in world affairs, especially those who study and travel in Asia and in Europe, tell tales of unrest, of leaders like Mussolini, Hitler, and Ghandi, who imperil the peace of the world. The economic balance has been upset, a world-wide revolution may follow. It would be interesting, indeed, if all those who cry for sudden and violent adjustments of national and international affairs could view Brazil and South America! Would they believe that scorn of the law brings cure for social and economic evils? Or that the problems of the world are far too intricate for solutions like these? Do they not require patient and scientific methods, delicate handling, peaceful adjustments, and international collaboration and friendship?

Revolution offers none of these.

CONDITIONS IN BRAZIL

The following extract of a letter written from Brazil some time ago and communicated to the editor by its recipient, represents one point of view with regard to the recent political changes in that country. No one can deny that there might be another point of view. The extract will, at least, be of interest to students of government.

You ask me about the financial conditions of São Paulo. They are extremely bad. The same may be said of general conditions in Brazil. The so-called *República Nova* is now going through a serious crisis. Three of the members of Vargas's cabinet have resigned and gone to their state—Rio Grande do Sul—as a protest against the dictator's attitude in the case of the *Diario Cariola*. This daily, which had become the most severe critic of the dictatorship, was destroyed a few days ago by a group of army officers and soldiers. One workingman was killed. Such an occurrence made the conflict between those who are in favor of the *Constituinte* and the militaristic party (known as *Tenentes*) more dramatic than ever. Rio Grande do Sul is now known to be positively against the militaristic tendencies of the Vargas dictatorship (Vargas has appointed "Tenentes" as governors of most of the states). In São Paulo, the old party (that of Washington Luis, Altino Arantes, and other prominent Brazilians) has united with the revolutionary civilians (the old party is the stronger of the two) and is working for the immediate constitutionalization of Brazil. São Paulo finally succeeded in having a civilian appointed governor of the state—Sr. Pedro de Toledo—an old diplomat, a man of about seventy, without sufficient energy to make any move against the militaristic pressure. In Pernambuco, conditions are still very bad. Recife enjoys no normal life because of the soldiers and guns everywhere in the streets. It must be stated that two of the army officers appointed governors—those of Pará and Bahia—have done well; but the majority of them have been regular failures. And every sensible Brazilian is now realizing the danger of the interference of the army in our political life—one of the bad effects of the revolution of 1930. We are in a phase of political retrogression common to Ibero-America, with the exception of imperial Brazil. One must not imagine that the army has taken a messianic rôle in Brazilian life as a whole. That function has been assumed by a large group of the younger officers—lieutenants, captains, and majors and not the colonels and generals—and most of the navy officers are frankly against interference in politics by the army or navy. The secretary of the navy is known to be of this opinion, while the secretary of war—a general—favors the *tenentes*. Communistic propaganda is going on among workingmen and students, but such propaganda is not efficient. One conclusion imposes itself with respect to Brazilian conditions: so far the *República Nova* has been a failure. The men who destroyed the old political order had an excellent opportunity to do serious and

constructive work, free, as they were, from constitutional and legal embarrassments. They have done nothing. Committees were appointed to investigate the acts of the president and governors in the old régime—committees whose members were revolutionists full of indignation against the *Republica Velha*. With a very few exceptions, nothing was found against the honesty of those men. Certainly, there were cases of graft, corruption, and so on, but they were notably few and the exception not the rule. From this point of view, the severe investigation carried on against them was beneficial to them. Some of them were doing their best as governors and in other positions, and their honesty was unquestionable. What is going to happen in Brazil in the immediate future it is hard to say. The *Republica Nova* has not abolished certain practices and abuses that were harmful to the old régime; and many who succumbed to the revolutionary ideal are now pointing to the *Republica Velha* as a better and even more liberal system than the present dictatorship. Really it is very curious to see that the result of a revolution, whose program was one of extreme liberalism and opposed to too great power of president and governors, is nothing but a dictatorship. And remember that Brazil never had a dictatorial government like the present one.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STUDY OF LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMICS AT HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The idea of establishing a center for economic studies at Harvard originated early in 1930, when Professor Edwin F. Gay, Professor C. H. Haring, and Dr. J. F. Normano held several conferences on that subject. On June 17, 1931, the president and fellows of Harvard College authorized the establishment of the Bureau for Economic Research in Latin America. The new organization has been functioning since the beginning of the academic year of 1931-1932, and with encouraging results. At the present time, the organization of the bureau consists of a director (Dr. C. H. Haring, Professor of Latin-American History and Economics), an assistant director (Dr. J. F. Normano, Lecturer in Economics), and a small clerical staff.

A recent report to the president of the university shows something of the program, work, and results of the new bureau. A valuable collection of materials relating to its field, including many current statistical reports, bulletins, financial publications, and other data has been made. Several special inquiries on various topics have been initiated, as follows: (1) The current facilities for collecting statistical data and the organization of the data in the twenty Latin-American republics. (2) The organization of studies of economic problems. (3) The collections on Latin-American economics in the libraries of Latin-American countries and of the United States. In the field of research, three investigations have been undertaken under the auspices of the bureau—financed in part by the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College. These will result in three monographs, as follows:

1. Brazil. *A Study in Economics*. By J. F. Normano. Now ready for press and will probably be published during the coming academic year.

2. Sugar in the Caribbean. An investigation by Professor L. H. Jenks of Wellesley College, for which the bureau has furnished research assistance.

3. The financial history of Argentina. By Miron Burgin. Al-

ready submitted in part. The final draft should be ready by the end of December, 1932.

Extensive bibliographical studies have been planned and partly executed, although only a part of this work has as yet been actually undertaken because of lack of funds. A survey of the economic literature relating to the field is now being made, for the prosecution of which the Harvard Committee on Research in the Social Sciences has granted funds. The survey will be ready for press by the end of December, 1932. The results of this survey will be embodied in a work of two volumes being compiled by Dr. J. F. Normano which will be published under the title, "Economic Literature on Latin America: A Tentative Bibliography". The first volume, which is now ready for press, will contain over 9,000 titles covering Latin America in general and the ten South American countries in particular. The titles referring to each country or region are classified by topics. The principal categories are Economic and Social Theory, Economic History and Conditions, and International Economic Relations. The second category has eleven subdivisions. The volume will have three descriptive appendices: the first, a survey of the sources of statistical data; the second, the economic periodicals; and the third, a listing of the collections of materials relating to Latin-American economics existing in libraries in the United States. The second volume will have similar data for Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean region.

Among research projects, it should be noted that the bureau has aided in framing an extensive project dealing with the social, political, and economic relations between the United States, on the one hand, and the republics in the vicinity of the Caribbean Sea, on the other hand. It is hoped that adequate funds to carry out this project can be obtained during the year 1933. An investigation of recent tendencies in the relations between Latin America and the Pacific Area is being considered; and the feasibility of publishing a research series is also receiving consideration. In spite of the handicaps resulting from technical and financial conditions, the members of the bureau believe that an important and timely work in a grossly neglected field is being performed.

A new course—Economic problems of Latin America—has been introduced by the department of economics during the present aca-

demic year. This course is described in the university catalogue as follows:

A study of economic history of the Latin American countries since their independence with special regard to their relations with Europe and the United States of America. The second half-year will be dedicated mostly to the study of currency and banking. With exception of the first few weeks, the course will be conducted largely by the seminar method. Special emphasis will be given to methods of research. The course will deal, for the most part, with the ten South American republics. Each member of the course will be expected to undertake independent investigation on some of the topics with which the course is concerned.

Undoubtedly these developments will make Harvard University an important center for studies in this special field of economics. Commendable interest is noted among graduate students enrolled in the department of economics, and the interest in Latin American problems has extended to members of the department as well. Scholars from the outside are also beginning to appreciate the importance of the facilities provided. The whole development is, of course, supported largely by the admirable collections of economic literature and other source materials in the various libraries of the university and in other nearby libraries.

It will, no doubt, be of interest to students of American history, and especially to those who take as their chosen field the study of the Pacific Coast region, to know that the Museo Naval, in Madrid, has inaugurated an exposition of maps and documents relating to the Spanish discoveries on the Pacific Coast of North America. The exposition opened on October 12, 1932, under the direction of Sr. José M. Torroja of the Academy of Sciences, Sr. Abelardo Merino, of the Academy of History, Professor Antonio Ballesteros of the University of Madrid, and Captain Julio Guillen of the Spanish Navy, sub-director of the museum. Under the able direction of Captain Guillen the museum has recently been reorganized in new quarters and its maps and documents are being minutely catalogued. The documents belonging to the Navarrete, Vargas, and Sanz collections and others taken over from the Deposito Hidrográfico and from the archives of the navy department have been well arranged and a liberal policy is in force as to the consultation of the documents by outside students and investigators. Some idea of the scope of the archives may be

formed from the statement that the documents number some 150,000, and the maps between 10,000 and 11,000. A feature of the exposition is to be the publication of a list of the documents in the archives of the museum which relate to California, together with an introduction by Captain Guillen. The edition will be small and will not be offered for sale, but persons and institutions desirous of obtaining the work may obtain it under certain conditions from the administration of the museum.—CHARLES C. GRIFFIN, Madrid, August, 1932.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

DESCRIPTIVE CALENDAR OF SOUTH AMERICAN MANUSCRIPTS

(Continuation)

CHAPTER VI

1700-1722

(a) REAL AUDIENCIA, Government ad Interim

- 1700, *circa*. No. 31. A title page bearing the following inscription: "Títulos de las tierras de Rijoya Pomahuta Zarpampa o Mansanapampa, Chuchurapini, La parte de Saavedra o Mansanani rematadas pr la Inquisicion, y todas estas son partes q̃ con otros nombres mas [de] la hacienda de Chuquilaya". No further details are given. (MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 44, pp. 1-2.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]
- 1700, *circa*. No. 32. Legal dispute in relation to a crime committed against the real hacienda. The dispute is led by Antonio Burgunyo y Juan, superintendent governor of the province of La Paz, who is represented by Juan Pedro Indaburu, ayudante mayor of the militia of Alto Perú. The governor, Burgunyo y Juan, is accused by the "subdelegado", Fernando Viderigue, of being an accomplice in the robbery of tributes, bulls, and donations. The dispute is based on the laws promulgated by Popes Leo IV., Gregorio VI., and Sixto V., as well as other outstanding juridical authorities. This is an important manuscript of historical interest. It is directed to "Señor Juez Comisionado" and continues "Dn Juan Pedro Yndaburu Ayudante mayór del Batallón de Milicias Provinciales de esta Ciudad, á nombre del Sr Gobrn Ynte de ella Dn Antonio Burgunyo y Juan; en Virtud de su Podér que tengo presentado en los autos promovidos pr el Ex-subdelegado Dn Fernando Viderigue, sobre pretendèr el compicàr á dicho Señor mi Parte en el criminozo descubierta que ha padecido la R^l Hazda en los Ramos de Tributos, Bullas, Donativo, etc". The first four pages of this manuscript are slightly torn.

- (MB, Vol. 8, HL, 1701-1808, Doc. 117, pp. 1-20) [20 7/10 x 30 cm.] Seven pages blank.
- 1700, *circa*. No. 33. A sermon in the Castillian language, by an anonymous author. It reads: "Beatus venter Vientre vienaventurado Luc 11". There are many other Latin citations.
(MB, Vol. 8, *Ibid.* Doc. 118, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.] Pages 7-8 blank.
- 1701-(1719). No. 34. A receipt for 521 pesos from the heirs of Juan de Salazar Tapia y de La Serda, which was given by Juan Antonio de Origuella Paz, Duque de Estrada, curator of the parish of Santa Barbara. Page 2 is dated October 6, 1705. Another receipt on page 3 is dated February 10, 1719, and is signed by Manuel Rodríguez de la Espada. Page 4 has this general heading for the documents: "Recibos de la Chacarilla que son de Santa Barbara".
(MB, Vol. 8, *Ibid.* Doc. 100, pp. 1-4.) [20 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]
- 1702, May 17. No. 35. Paper of the Pueblo San Pedro reporting a land purchase in Carecaja made by Manuel Hestados, guardian of the property of his wife, Doña Liberata Gomez. Sealed: ["Dos reales"] "Un real. SELLO TERCERO, VN REAL, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS NOVENTA Y SEIS, Y NOVENTA Y SIETE". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos IV., and designating "Años de 1798 i 1799".
(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 59, pp. 1-2.) [21 3/10 x 31 cm.]
- 1704, May 14. No. 36. Record of a land purchase in the city of La Paz. The heading reads: "Escriptura de Compra q̃ hizo Dn Jua de Origuella del sitio y quenta [*sic*] atras de su Cassa". Sealed: "SELLO SEGUNDO SEIS REALES AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y SEIS, Y MIL SETECIENTOS, Y SIETE". It is legalized with royal emblems but with no inscription.
(MB, Vol. 8, HL, 1701-1808. Doc. 103, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]

(b) Don MANUEL OMS DE SANTA PAU,
Marqués de Castell-dos-rios, Viceroy

- 1707-1708. No. 37. Group of papers containing a deed of immoveable property and a grievance drawn up by Indian inhabitants discussing their rights on the basis of a royal Cédula, promulgated in Villa de Madrid, August 15,

1707. The following outlines the contents of the papers: (a) Pp. 1-3, petitions; (b) P. 5, decree; (c) P. 6 nomination; (d) P. 7, confirmation. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEYS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS, Y QVARTO, Y MIL SETECIENTOS Y CINCO". Stamped with royal emblems, one designating "Para los años de 1708 y 1709" and the other "Para los años de 1715 y 1716". The immovable property is connected with the state secretary, Gaspar de Pinedo, with the executor, Francisco Ramirez de Arellano, member of the consejo de Indias and of the council of war, with Licenciado Don Juan Brauo del Viuero, member of the council to his majesty and oidor of the real audiencia, and with other high officials of La Plata and other sections of Peru. Signed by Nicolas de Vera, scrivener to his majesty and to the visita general of the vice-royalty.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. DOC. 49, pp. 1-12.)
[21 1/2 x 31 cm.] Last page blank.

1708, May 23.

No. 38. A document on the question of the buying and selling of immovable properties in the interior of the city of La Paz. It is connected with José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez and Mateo Ortiz de Ariñez, brothers, and well-known presbyters of Alto Perú.*

*These two fathers were very prominent in the ecclesiastical and political affairs of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They also appear to be two of the richest landowners in the territorial section now known as Bolivia. In the collection there are a large number of documents relating to these two clergymen from which there could be written two important biographies. Below are listed the majority of the documents relating to them:

Vol. 1, Doc. 15, pp. 1-6.

Vol. 1, Doc. 17, pp. 1.

Vol. 1, Doc. 50, pp. 1-12.

Vol. 1, Docs. 54-56, pp. 1-22.

Vol. 1, Doc. 72, pp. 1-4.

Vol. 10, Doc. 535, pp. 1-2.

Vol. 10, Doc. 537, pp. 1-2.

Vol. 13, Entitled "José Cayetano Ortiz de Ariñez and Mateo de Ariñez." 38 documents numbered from 127-160 with a total of 184 pages.

Vol. 19, Doc. 163, pp. 1-2.

Vol. 19, Doc. 164, p. 2.

Vol. 19, Doc. 173, pp. 1-18.

Vol. 20, Doc. 176-179, pp. 1-12.

Vol. 20, Doc. 182, pp. 1-4.

Vol. 20, Doc. 183, pp. 1-196.

Vol. 20, Doc. 185-186, pp. 1-6.

Vol. 20, Doc. 202, pp. 1-4.

Vol. 20, Doc. 204-206, pp. 1-10.

Vol. 20, Doc. 208, pp. 1-4.

Vol. 20, Doc. 212-220, pp. 1-42.

Vol. 20, Doc. 228-230, pp. 1-74.

Vol. 20, Doc. 232, pp. 1-2.

Vol. 20, Doc. 233, pp. 1-2.

Vol. 20, Doc. 235, pp. 1-18.

Vol. 20, Doc. 248, pp. 1-2.

- 1708, May 23. Signed by Crispin de Vera y Aragon, scrivener to his majesty and superintendent general of La Paz. (MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 50, pp. 1-12.) [21 x 31 cm.]
- 1708, November 29. No. 39. Authorization on ecclesiastical affairs by Mother Superior Isabel. It is in connection with the nobility of the church and army of Bolivia. Compiled by the notary public, Castro. (MB., Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 43, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.]

(c) Don DIEGO LADRÓN DE GUEVARA,
Bishop of Quito and Viceroy

1710, *circa.*

No. 40. Chronicles by Father Gómez Vidaurre and other Jesuits of the eighteenth century, describing incidents of missions and missionaries, as well as conquests in the provinces of Tucumán, Paraguay, and other regions of South America. The chronicles begin with a narrative covering the period from the second part of the sixteenth century until the eighteenth century. The manuscript divides itself into three sections, all of which are interesting though incomplete.

Section 1, pp. 1-8. Begins "Dn Martin Ledesima caballero de Andaluz, natl de Alcala de Guadaira Govor del Tucuman E el Marques de Guadaleazar, virrey del Perú" fundo dos ciudades a la entrada del Chaco" etc., and ends "Dn Alonso de Mercado despacho yndios calchaguies a Bs. Aires. despues de haverlos apaciguado: me parece qe son los de los quilmes". Signed by the Jesuit, Father Francisco Gómez Vidaurre. [16½ x 21½ cm.]

Section 2, pp. 9-11. Seems to be an extract from

Vol. 20, Doc. 253, pp. 1-4.
Vol. 20, Doc. 257, pp. 1-2.
Vol. 20, Doc. 288, pp. 1-4.
Vol. 20, Doc. 289, pp. 1-4.
Vol. 20, Doc. 290, pp. 1-10.
Vol. 20, Doc. 291, pp. 1-8.
Vol. 20, Doc. 292, pp. 1-22.
Vol. 23, Doc. 584, pp. 1-2.
Vol. 23, Doc. 585, pp. 1-2.
Vol. 23, Doc. 600, pp. 1-2.
Vol. 23, Doc. 601, pp. 1-4.

Vol. 23, Doc. 651-662, etc.

Besides these documents, the same volume which is entitled "Ariñez Family" has other documents which deal with affairs of descendants and relatives of the two fathers mentioned above. See also Vol. 21, Ariñez, Castillo, Encinas-Family matters; Vol. 57, H. Ariñez-Prontuario de Leyes, Decretos.

* By "el Marques de Guadaleazar, virrey del Perú" is probably meant Diego Fernández de Córdoba, who served as viceroy both in Mexico, 1612-1621, and in Perú, 1621-1629.

chronicles originally written by Pedro Lozano. Commences with the heading: "P. Lozana §18-f 106 y 107 Santiago del Estero en 1562", and on page 10 continues "Remito la obra del Chaco, y Remitame Vm. los Semanarios, pa dar los a su dueño qe los pide, etcétra". This section ends (p. 11) "Asi premió Dios aun en esta vida su Zelo a servir á ambas Magestades". One blank page. [16 4-5 x 21½ cm.]

Section 3, pp. 13-20. Begins "Lozano §18. F 107. Por la parte oriental del Chaco á 30. leg antes de desembocar el Rio Bermejo en el del Paraguay pa frente y reduccion de los Guaycurús, Abipones, Mataras, Chaguies y Mogonas fundo el año de 1570". On the same page there is the heading "Chronica Franciscana Ympresa en Lima año de 1650 y escrita pr P. Diego de Cordova" and it ends "En la manutencion de los Lules en Valbuena el tiempo de 5 años gastó Vrizar mas de 15\$ rs de á ocho".

The manuscript as a whole attempts to present a faithful account of the conquests, of the Spanish governmental and ecclesiastical administrations, of instruction in the catechism, and missionary life. It also brings out bio-bibliographical material; names military and civil martyrs; describes topographical conditions and mentions aboriginal people and the founding of cities.

The first section treats of adventures along the Paraná River and the founding of settlements in Chaco. It quotes thirty-two lines of the epic poem by Martín del Barco Centenera, archdeacon of Buenos Aires. This work is supposed to be entitled "Argentina" and was originally published in Lisbon in 1601.

The main subject of the last section is the tragic life of the Jesuit Ortiz and his wife and the characteristics of Pedro Ortiz de Zarato, commissary of the inquisition.

(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 7, pp. 1-120.)
[21 4/5 x 31 cm.]

(d) Don CARMINE NICOLÁS CARACCIOLO

Príncipe de Santo Bueno, Viceroy

1717, March 10.

No. 41. Letter from Francisco Thadeo Díez de Medina to Francisco Parilino de Oquendo dealing with incidents of Cartagena and Portugal related to overseas communications from Concepción.

(MB, Vol. 8, HL, 1701-1808, Doc. 116, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 30 cm.] Three pages blank.

(e) Don J. DIEGO MORCILLO RUBIO DE AUÑON,
Viceroy.

1720, January 23. No. 42. An ecclesiastical receipt on a small piece of paper, for 30 pesos. Signed by Manuel Rodríguez de la Espada.

(MB, Vol. 8. *Ibid.* Doc. 106, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 12 1/2 cm.] Page 2 blank.

1721-1722. No. 43. Integrated volume of documentary material dealing with the treasury of Alto Perú in the early eighteenth century. It was originally numbered as 209 sheets, each of which, written on royal water-print paper, is rubricated with the flourishes of the signatories, and has been renumbered (by me) as 418 pages.

Title page: "1721 a 1722. Lib Comun gral de Cont N. . . . De cargos y dattas de los p . . . de Oro Barras Reales y demas gastos que entran y Salen de esta Rl Caxa de la Paz por Cuenta de S Mgd q corre desde 1o. de Maio de 1721 que se serro la cartta quenta hasta que se despache la venidera: Y tiene Docientas y nueve foxas y ttodas Rubricadas del Genl Dn Anto Carnero. Corregr y Justicia mr de esta Ziud de nra señora de la Paz. Y de nos el Contor Dn Plas de Oliden y thesso Dn Ldo Murillo Gauallero, y esta y la ultima Firmadas por ambos y dho General". It has a green stamp reading "Biblot[eca] [de Nicolás Acosta]. Seccion.... Serie.... No...." The rest is illegible.

Page 2: Table of contents divided into 22 sections coming under the title of "Tabla de los cargos q se contienen en este Lio Comun gl de Contador" and numbered from 11 to 126.

Page 3: Another table of contents in eighteen sections entitled: Tabla de las Dattas de este Lio Comun gal de Contador." According to the numbers, this division is from page 130 to page 176.

1721, June 25. Page 177: Taxes from "mesadas" turned in by
1721, August 23. Licenciante Joseph Clasaua; Licenciante Pedro de Aiora; Licenciante Bernardo de Sancho of the Doctrina de Algiomaco; and Pedro Morillo, royal treasurer, cavallero and curator of the Doctrina of Aciguanaca. It is accompanied by tabular summaries.

1721, July 1. Page 85: Records of income from taxes on butcher shops collected by Juan Corrión; General Diego de

Ybarburo; Pedro de Cosma; Antonio de Costa, secretary of the treasury; and other officers of Villa de Potosí and of Buenos Aires.

1721, July 6.
1722, April 30. Page 259: Income from governmental properties, estates, buildings, etc., recorded in twenty reports with many detailed descriptions, as well as with tabular summaries.

1721, July 14.
1722, April 30. Page 219: Taxes from official stationery during the years of 1710, 1711, 1712, 1713, 1717 and 1718, supervised by the state secretary, Joseph de Vidanges.

1721, July 18.
1722, April 30. Page 157: Reports of taxes from "Medias anattas" represented by Captain Joseph de Villos y Soliz, judge of La Paz and General Joseph de Acuña, also judge of La Paz.

1721, July 27.
1722, February 24. Page 193: Taxes from officials of the central government of the viceroyalty of Peru.

1721, August 8.
1722, April 30. Page 21: Record of the income from "Tributos Reales" collected by Maestro de Campo Lorenzo Valverde, officer of the Santo Oficio of the inquisition in Lima, head of the department of constables in the province of Laricaxa [*sic*] and general of warfare and of the *quita* of chuncho Indians and against non-believers in the Catholic Church. Another collector of tributes recorded in this report is Luis Quero de Alarcon, judge of La Paz and war general for Indian conquests. This record is followed by ten other reports of collections through General Mateo de Proleon, corregidor and justicia mayor of Pacaxes [*sic*]; General Geronimo de Begarza, corregidor of La Paz; General Eugene Dauila, corregidor and justicia mayor of Zicasica [*sic*] and encomendero of Indians in San Juan de Charcas; General Beneto Gonzales de Santalle, corregidor and justicia mayor of the province of La Paz; and General Joseph de Espinosa, corregidor and justicia mayor of Omasuio. It is accompanied by tabular summaries.

1721, November 11.
1722, February 6. Page 129: Income from "Residuos", for the year 1720 to 1721 through previously mentioned officers.

1721, November 11.
1722, April 30. Page 57: Records of income from taxes for official positions at La Gunas, San Francisco, Calcota Santissima Trinidad de Lima, Calcota Conde Aguilas, Caquin-gora Misericordia Santa Ana de Lima, Sapaqui, Santa Magna de Vilela, Machaca Marques de Oropeso, and others. Together there are twelve records.

Page 231: Taxes from type 10 and type 100 on salaries of military and civil officers as well as from caciques.

- 1721, December 11. Page 213: Income from "Yanaconas" by the Indian Quinanes, cacique "de unos Yndios sueltos" (unsupervised by Spaniards).
- 1722, April 30.
- 1721, December 20. Page 41: Records of income from "nouenos rrs . . .", "diesmos", and others. This income is represented by the contador of the royal treasury. This money is for the years 1717, 1718, 1720, and 1721.
- 1722, April 30.
- 1721, December 31. Page 169: Record of "Alcaualas" represented by Juan Francisco de Thorres and by General Dauila.
- 1722, April 30.
- 1721, December 31. Page 113: Income from "Tercios" reported in ten records which are accompanied by tabular summaries.
- 1722, April 30.
- 1722, February 30. Page 247: Income from mines at Itarca in the province of Sicasica which are called Soledad and Conetta.
- 1722, March 12. Page 97: An account of duties from Carabuco, Palperias; Guaicho, Omasuio, Ytalque, Charasini, etc.
- 1722, April 30. Page 201: Taxes from "Vacante obispa!" represented by Juan Muños de Casuzo and by Licenciado Juan Pinto de Valle.

Page 251: Income from taxation on grocery stores, represented by Licenciado Francisco Fernando del Castello and Alonso Duran, bondsman for Señor Mathias Raquelme.

Page 283: Here begins another section consisting of records of reports of duties collected from different sources and from different provinces of the viceroyalty of Peru, which extends to page 417 corresponding to the original numeration 209 and reading: "Tiene este lio Comun general de . . . Docienttas y nueue foxas numeradas por guarismo y rubricadas del General Don Antonio Carnero, etc. y de nos el Contador Plas de Oliden y Thessorero Don Pedro Murillo", etc.

The forty sections in this volume consist of 179 records which offer a large body of information for a study of economics in the history of the Peruvian viceroyalty. Not only does the collection deal with income and taxation and their sources but also with the various distributions of governmental finances. It is worth while to call the student's attention to the question of the treatment of Indians in Spanish America during the eighteenth century: *e.g.*, on pages 15 and 66 there are mentioned records of income from Indians bound to personal service who are generally known under the name of "Yanaconas". This record (see above, the entry under December 11, 1721) is in vol. 9, p. 213, of the manuscripts. It indicates clearly that the government collected taxes from the enslavement of In-

dians. It is also curious that in this record appears the names of the Indians who were forced to pay these taxes. From these names, most of which are Spanish, it can be seen that the taxes from Indian enslavement in Peru were not confined merely to aboriginal Indians but extended also to those who were the descendants from Spanish intermarriage.

(MB, Vol. 9, T. Doc. 125, pp. 1-418.) [20 1/2 x 29 1/2 cm.] Two hundred and twenty six pages blank.

CHAPTER VII

1730-1763

(a) Don JOSÉ ARMENDARIZ,
Marqués de Castel-fuerte, Viceroy

- 1730, September 25. *No. 44.* Land title of an Indian, Antonio Vasquez, of the tribes of Yungas, Chapes. This is a transaction connected with many Indian inhabitants of Taypichuro Arrura de la Caxa de Aguas. Sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, UN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y DIEZ Y OCHO, DIEZ Y NUEVE Y VEINTE Y VNO." Legalized with the emblems of Felipe V., and designating "Para los años de 1729 y 1730". Compiled and signed by Señor Doctor Don Vicente de Montaya, civil registrar to his Majesty in La Paz.
(MB, Vol. 5, SL, 1682-1833. Doc. 83, pp. 1-4.) [21 x 31 cm.]
-

(b) Don JOSÉ ANTONIO DE MENDOZA, Marqués de Villa-García
and Conde de Barrantes, Viceroy

- 1737, December 13. *No. 45.* Dwelling and land deed by an Indian woman, Taepho Limache, who for expediency is called Nicolas Gutiérrez, widow of Pablo Luiepe, also an Indian. The property in question is called Taipichuru or Pasqual Choque of Caxa del Agua. Sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y TREINTA Y VNO, TREINTA Y DOS, TREINTA Y TRES, Y TREINTA Y QUATRO." Legalized with the emblems of Felipe V., and with the shield of Potosí which carries the dates of "1737, 1738, 1739, 1740". Signed by witnesses and by the notary public, Augustin Capulveda, etc.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 84, pp. 1-12.) [20 x 31 cm.]
Page 12 blank.

- 1737, December 14. No. 46. Petitioning letter of Pasqual Choque, an Indian of San Pedro, dealing with land purchases.

Page 5: Inscription: "Títulos y Instrumentos, que tocan a unas Casas y Citio que Compro Pasqual Choque por Distintas Vezes, quede todo mio Poesession Judicial que estan en el Varrio de la Caja . . . en el Parage de Taipuchuru, La Paz diciembre 16 de 1737".

Page 7: Entitled: "Expte de Da Joaquina Pradel".

Page 8: Another page entitled: "Paz Año . . . de 1830. Expediente contra el Presvitiero Dn Gregorio Pradel". Sealed and legalized as the preceding document. Signed by the petitioner and confirmed by the previous notary.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 85, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 31 cm.]

- 1740, February, 6. No. 47. Only the beginning of a property deed of the reverend father, Friar Fernando Dauila, prior of the convent of the order of predicadores. Doña Maria Mantilla is connected with this transaction.

Page 2: The beginning of a letter.

Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y TREINTA Y VNO, TREINTA Y DOS, TREINTA Y TRES Y TREINTA Y QUATRO". This document has been damaged and mended but the stamping can still be distinguished as the emblems of Felipe V. and of the province of Potosí, dated 1737, etc. Incomplete.

(MB, Vol. 5. *Ibid.* Doc. 87, pp. 1-2.) [20 x 31 cm.]

- 1740, July 19. No. 48. Legal paper of a sale of property by Ygnacio de la Calle to Joseph Nicolás de Carauedo. The property consists of buildings valued at 200 pesos and located in the district of Carcantia. The will of Ygnacio's father, Lazaro de la Calle, is attached. Sealed: "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y TREINTA Y CINCO, Y TREINTA Y SEIS". Legalized with the emblems of Felipe V. and of Potosí, and reading, "1741, 1742, 1743, and 1744". (MB, Vol. 20, MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 199, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]

(c) REAL AUDIENCIA, Government ad Interim

- 1745, circa. No. 49. Ecclesiastical memorandum in regard to income from mass. There is a list of names and of sums of money contributed by members of the church.

- (MB, Vol. 10, *LR*, 1745-1861. Doc. 562, pp. 1-2.) [15 x 21 1/5 cm.]
- 1745, *circa*. No. 50. Outline of the important events in connection with the life of Doña Juana Cabrera from 1722 to 1745.
(MB, Vol. 10. *Ibid.* Doc. 561, pp. 1-2.) [16 x 22 cm.]
- 1745, January 16. No. 51. Record of a will on immovable property, by the family of La Calle. Sealed and legalized as Entry No. 48 (p. 133). Signed by Antonio Marquez, notary public.
(MB, Vol. 20, MBD, 1800-1829. Doc. 198, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 31 cm.]
-
- (d) Don JOSÉ ANTONIO MANSO DE VELASCO
Conde de Superunda, Viceroy
-
- 1746, May 20. No. 52. This is a copy (the original of which it should be possible to find in the archives of Bolivia under the title R. P. P. Fr.) of an ecclesiastical registration dealing with the nomination of the clergy and with the founding of a "capellanía" in the Villa-Real de Potosí. The heading reads "Capellanía fundada á del Convento de 4000 ps", and "Visitado año de 1794 como consta á f 176ta del Libro de Visitas". Signed by the notary public, Don Miguel Guitierrez, and by Tomas Correa, head of the convent of the Villa of Potosí.
(MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799, Doc. 8, pp. 1-8.) [22 x 31 cm.] Three pages blank.
- 1746, December 24. No. 53. Testament of Diego de Alarcón, archdeacon of the Cathedral of La Paz, and founder of the Convento de Nuestra Señora del Carmen in the same city. The heading states "Acttos sobre la demanda q̄ puso el 24 Sor Thoribio Castro de 4\$ps". Signed by the notary public, Augustin de Capulveda.
(MB, Vol. I. *Ibid.* Doc. 9, pp. 1-45.) [21 2/5 x 30 9/10.]
- 1748, March 30. No. 54. Bond for an Indian prisoner, Eustaquiú de Ortega signed by Joseph de Santalla in the amount of 50 pesos. Ortega was imprisoned at the order of the General Miguel de Loaisa, corregidor and justicia mayor of La Paz, for selling a brocaded jacket to Maestre de Campo Manuel Silvestre y Oregela. Sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO, VN REAL, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y TREINTA Y CINCO, Y TREINTA Y SEIS". Legalized with the emblems of Felipe V. and with the shield of Potosí which carries the dates of 1745,

1746, 1747, and 1748. It reads "Sirve pra el Reynado del Sr Don Fernando el Sexto".

(MB, Vol. 8, HL, 1701-1808. (Doc. 101, pp. 1-2.) [21 x 30 1/2 cm.]

1748, September 24. No. 55. Financial report with detailed tabulations. Heading: "Descargo q̃ me hago de las Partidas q̃ tengo dadas á quita del arrendamiento del obraje desde el ajuste de cuenta Con el Sr Arzediano hasta el día 24 de Septiembre de 1748 años".

Page 5: Entitled: "Memoria y Razon de los cargos qe se lo hazen al Mre de Campo Dn Francisco Guerrero, de los Aperos q̃ faltan, en el obraje, al tiempo qe hizo entrega de el". This statement is not complete.

Page 8: Inscribed: "Quenta queda Dn Franco Guerrero de toro, de cargo y Data por lo tocante a los . . . rriendos del obraje De Dos vitimos años asta 24 de 7e. de 1748 y Sale alcanzado en 1507 p 7 1/2 rs de los que Ortega escrita a fauor de las Padres Carmeletas Ante Dn Agn Frnz con fecha de 10 de Ho de 1749".

Signed by Señor Don Francisco Guerrero, corregidor. (MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 10, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/2 x 30 cm.] One page blank.

(e) REAL AUDIENCIA, Government ad Interim.

1758, March 11 circa. No. 56. Note recording the founding of a capellanía in the hacienda de Paú for the sum of 4,000 pesos. These funds were appropriated by Pedro Fernández de San Martín and Crispín de Vera y Aragón. Doña Marcela gave the grounds on which the capellanía was constructed in honor of Rafael Enriquez de San Martín, on June 21, 1755. The founding took place before the scrivener, Antonio Basques. More names mentioned in regard to this are Captain Jacobo Peralta,²⁰ Antonio Pinido and his wife Doña Micalla de Villao la Vieja. (MB, Vol. 10, LR, 1745-1861. Doc. 560, pp. 1-2.) [15 1/5 x 21 1/2 cm.] Page 2 blank.

²⁰ The documents listed below relate to the same Captain Jacobo Peralta and to his family, who were new Christians. Volume 1, Docs. 19-28, pp. 1-60; Docs. 32-33, pp. 1-18; Doc. 36, pp. 1-2; Doc. 55, pp. 1-12; Docs. 64-71, pp. 1-58. Volume 20, Docs. 180-181, pp. 1-4; Doc. 197, pp. 1-2; Docs. 200-201, pp. 1-6; Doc. 222, pp. 1-2; Doc. 227, pp. 1-46; Docs. 236-238, pp. 1-36; Doc. 243, pp. 1-2; Doc. 245, pp. 1-2; Doc. 247, pp. 1-2; Doc. 249, pp. 1-2; Docs. 251-252, pp. 1-10; Docs. 297-298, pp. 1-6.

- 1758, May 20. *No. 57.* A deed from Carabuco and Guaicho to the amount of 610 pesos. Sealed: "Vn qvartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS CINQVENTA Y DOS, Y CINQVENTA Y TRES". Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and the shield of Potosí. Signed by Estevan de Sossa, scrivener to his Majesty of Otachache. (MB, Vol. 1, MBD, 1574-1799. Doc. 47, pp. 1-8.) [21 1/5 x 30 3/5 cm.]
- 1758-(1764). *No. 58.* Petitions and dispatches to the Santo Tribunal of the Inquisition in the viceroyalty of Perú. Contains many legal certifications. Signed by Gomez Zapata, officer of the Santo Oficio and confirmed by "General Dr. Don Pedro Francisco Joseph de Carauedo Cura Rector de la Parrochia de Sn. Sebastian de esta ciudad de Nuestra Señora de la Paz, Examinador, Sinodal, y Comisario del Santo Oficio de la Inquisicion en ella y en su Obispado". (MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 48, pp. 1-4.) [21 3/10 x 31 3/10 cm.] Two pages blank.
- 1759, February 6. *No. 59.* Instrument confiscating the property of Doña Josepha de los Rios y Callejas. Sealed: "Vn qvartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS CINQVENTA Y DOS Y CINQVENTA Y TRES". Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and with the stamp of Potosí. Heading: "Autos executados contra las de Doña Josepha de los Rios y Callejas. Escritura de censo, a fauor de la cofradia del Santissimo Sacramento que es benera en la Yga del Monasterio de la purissima consepn". Signed by Crispin del Vera y Aragon, notary public of the city of La Paz. (MB, Vol. 1. *Ibid.* Doc. 12, pp. 1-12.) [20 3/10 x 30 3/5 cm.] Three pages blank. Pages 1 and 2 are pasted together.

(f) Don MANUEL AMAT Y JUNIENT
Captain General and Viceroy

- 1762, May 23. *No. 60.* Testament of Captain Jacobo Peralta, sealed "Seis reales. SELLO SEGVNDO, SEIS REALES, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y SESENTA Y SEIS Y SESENTA Y SETE". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and reading "PARA LOS AÑOS DE 1773 i 1774".

Page 17 reads "Censo de 3\$000 ps Principal a favor de la cofradia de No Sr Santissimo Sacramento" for ecclesiastical benefits.

Page 21 is a petition directed to the "Provor Vio Gl".

Authenticated by Nicolas de Losa, notary public, and by other military, secular, and church authorities, because of the extent of the business and social connections of Captain Jacobo Peralta.

(MB, Vol. I. *Ibid.* Doc. 23, pp. 1-24.) [21 x 31 cm.] Pages 16 and 24 are blank.

1763, March 10.

No. 61. Deed concerning attempt through law to secure movable property claimed as dowry. The suit was filed by Pedro Rodriguez de Olivera, son of the mestiza Doña Thomasa Rodriguez de la Paz. The property in question is a building in the district of Carcantia and a block of land in the Paraje of Chalapamapa, which formerly belonged to Joseph Monttesinos. Sealed: "Vn quartillo. SELLO QVARTO. . . 1754-1755. Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and stamped "Sirve para el reynado del S. D. Carlos III.", and with the emblems of Potosí under the dates: 1761-1762 and 1765-1767. Signed by the notary public, Raphael de Villanueva and accompanied by testimony from the witnesses Antonio Quiñones, Thomas Espinosa, Felipe de Losapa, Pedro Rodriguez, Arruego Mateo, Phelipe de Losa, etc. (MB, Vol. I. *Ibid.* Doc. 29, pp. 1-8.) [21 x 30 4/5 cm.] One page blank.

CHAPTER VIII

1764-(1803)¹¹

Don MANUEL AMAT Y JUNIENT
Captain General and Viceroy

1764-(1803)

No. 62. Collection of court papers. The documentary material in this group forms an entire volume under the title *Juzgado-Expedientes*. It originally numbered 175 sheets, but renumbered (by me) has 402 pages. The papers formerly from the Tribunal de La Paz pertain to an important lawsuit against General Ventura (Bentura) Santisu. He was corregidor and justicia mayor in charge

¹¹ As the material considered in this chapter forms a separate volume in the University collection and pertains to one subject which extends to 1803, a deviation from exact chronological order is necessary here. However, the next chapter (IX) begins again with the year 1765, etc.

of the whole province of Omasuyos, and was accused of appropriating government funds.

Page 1: Title page to the volume reads: "Juzgado de Vista no. 76. Expedite Seguido por ella para la cobranza de que se han resultado de Alcanze liquido contra el Corregidor que fue de Omasuyos Dn Bentura Santisu, que se repiten contra fiadores". Stamped: [Bib]lioteca [de Nicolás Acosta] La [Paz].

Page 2: Another inscription serving as a further title page: "Tributos y otros ramos. Caxa Real de Nra Señora de la Paz f 75. Autos. N. 19. De embargo, y cobranzas de los Deudores del General Dn Ventura Santiso, Corregr que fue de la Provincia de Omasuyos, para el Cubierto de dos mil quarenta ps y tres quartillos de real quedó Debendo a su Magd en sus Quantas Finales por los Rs Tributos de su Cargo, sin otros Descubiertos del Seminario". This is followed by a tabular summary of tributes, tariffs, and other types of revenue which the general was accused of having appropriated, amounting to the sum of 5,184 pesos.

1764, April-May.

Page 73: Receipts [20 x 15 1/2 cm.] and statements in regard to debts of different people owed to General Santisu: (a) By Blas Suaso of the Pueblo de Guarina, (b) By Juan de Zespedes for the quinta of Nicolás Patricio by Pablo Duron of Pueblo, (c) By Ramon Horacio of Villanueva.

1764, October 1.

Page 15: An act of defense directed to the royal judges of La Paz sealed: "Un real. SELLO TERCERO, VN REAL, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y CINQVENTA Y OCHO, Y CINQVENTA Y NVEVE". Legalized with the emblems of Fernando VI. and reading: "Sirve para el reynado del S. D. Carlos III". It is also stamped with the emblems of the province of Potosí, signed by General Ventura Santisu y Enriques, "Corregidor y Justicia mayor Theniente de Capittan Gral y Alcalde Mayor de Minas y Registros por su Magestad de la Provincia de Omasuyo".

1765, March 3.

Page 43: Other depositions from witnesses of the village of Itachacache and of Guarina.

1765, April 10.

Page 37: Testimony against the general. Signed by judges and high officials of the tribunal in La Paz.

1765, November 10.

Page 55: Court decision in favor of Joachin [sic] de Velasco stating the farm Chiavaya to be his property.

1766, February 2.

Page 41: Depositions by witnesses sealed and legalized as page 15 of this volume.

- 1766, May 10. Page 33: A deposition, sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y CINQUENTA Y OCHO Y CINQUENTA Y NUEVE". Stamped with the émbles of Fernando VI. and indicating: "Sirve para el reynado del S. D. Carlos III. Para los años de 1765 y 1766".
- 1766, May 16. Page 29: Two testimonials defending General Santisu. Signed by Pedro Ramires, Pedro Villa Vicencia, and others. Authenticated by Rafael de Villa Nueva, notary public.
- 1766, September 16. Page 59: Statements and certifications by General Santisu, his guardian, and other officials involved in the suit.
- 1766, September 20. Page 47: Depositions from Indians of the village of Ancoraymes in the province of Omasuyo.
- 1768, May 21. Page 93: A financial report of a debt which General Santisu had to collect from Mathias Calavmana during the years 1761-1768. From this can be seen the extent of the general's wealth. For that time this would be considered more wealth than an English or American general would have today under the very best of circumstances.
- 1768, October 7. Page 3: A warrant for the seizure of General Santisu's property, entitled "Autos de Embargo de los bienes del Gral Don Venta Santizo". The act is sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y SESENTA Y QVARTO, Y SESENTA Y CINCO". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and indicating: "Para los años de 1767 i 1768". Signed by Crispin de Vera y Aragon, notary public, by Miguel Antonio de Llano and Doctor Pedro Nolasco Crepo, accountant of the royal treasury in La Paz.
- 1768, October 8. Page 81: Heading: Memoria y Razon de las mitas que Deven Barrios Particulares que constan por mi Libro de Caja sin obligaciones, assi en el Pueblo de Machacae como en los demas de la prova a saber". Followed by a list of inhabitants whose taxes are unpaid and a summary table of the amount of their debt. The compilation is in General Santisu's handwriting and is also signed by him. Another compilation of this nature is to be found on page 85 (of the volume) reading: "Memoria y Razon de lo que me Deven en La Provincia de Omasuio de las Dependencias Creadas en el tiempo que servi el Correximiento de dicha Prova; assi de tributos como de particulares y son las personas siguientes". Also fol-

lowed by a list of inhabitants and a summary table of the amounts of their debt to the government. The sums amount to 9,980 pesos.

1768, October 27. Page 89: A petition from the general directed to the judges in which he defends himself against his prosecutors. Sealed and legalized by Carlos III.

1768, November 5. Page 97: A court decree sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y SESENTA Y QVARTO, Y SESENTA Y CINCO". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III. and reading: "Para los años de 1767 i 1768". Accompanied by more acts which reveal many facts in the suit against the general.

1768, November 24. Page 109: A legal petition by Pedro de Mariaca, attorney for General Santisu, prosecuting Joachin Velasco of Hilavaia, for a debt which he owes the general. Despatched by the court.

1776, August 8. Page 113: Papers which relate the various procedures in the case against the general. They are entitled: "Diligencias obradas para la cobranza de varios debitos que a fauor de Gral Dn Venta Santiso, Corregr qe fue de la prova de Omasuyo, quedaron en ellas". These procedures extending over 47 pages narrate the case in a very interesting and detailed manner which is described by Dr. Pedro Nolasco Crespo, accountant of the royal treasury and by Colonel Miguel Antonio de Llano, cashier of the royal treasury. The heading of these descriptive procedures is "Los offs Rs de la Haza y Caxas de su Magd de esta Ciudad de Nuestra Señora de la Paz y Corregimientos de su Distrito", etc. These papers are directed to General Don Ramon de Moya, Corregidor y Justicia mayor of Omasuyos, and are accompanied by more documentary material and tabular summaries, which give an excellent idea of the situation in the official circles which were concerned in the general's lawsuit. Sealed: "Un quartillo. SELLO QVARTO, VN QVARTILLO, AÑOS DE MIL SETECIENTOS Y SETENTA Y DOS, Y SETENTA Y TRES". Legalized with the emblems of Carlos III., reading: "Para los años de 1775 i 1776".

1777, June 14. Page 163: Papers from many inhabitants of Achacachi, Copacabana, Aucoraymes, and Pucarani, who were affected by the proceedings of the court and of the general's attorney. Among them were high officers, influential farmers, caciques, and other leaders of Indian villages.

- 1780, August 8. Page 385: Royal sentence ordering that the property of General Ventura Santisu y Henriquez be confiscated and that debts up to the amount of 5,184 pesos be paid to the government instead of to the general. The sentence is directed to Joseph Antonio de Arecho, and transcribed by José Antonio Genieno y Amaritu, secretary of the legislature, under the following heading: "De oficio. Provicion Rl en fuerza de mandamiento de apremio cometida a los ofizs Res de la ciudad de la Paz para qe procedan por todo rigor de dro contra Don Ventura Santizu y Henriquez Corregor que fue de la Provincia de Omasuyo su bienes Albaceas, herederos y fiadores hasta que entren los 5,185 ps 5 rs declarados por alcance liquido contra el en sus cuentas finales y hecho el entero y sentado la partida en los Libros rs remitan el tribunal las certificaciones correspondientes como se previene y manda en el auto y decision aqui incerto". Signed by "corregdor". The pronouncement begins on the following page of the volume (386) with "Don Carlos por la Gracia de Dios Rey de Castillo" etc. and is sealed with the respective emblems, and stamped with a special type of letters. Signed by the chancellor in Reyes.
- 1780, August 23. Page 165: More legal acts relating to the case of General Santisu.
- 1780, September 7. Page 353: Writs by royal officers under the heading: "Los Tenientes de ofs Rs de la Rl Caxa, y Hacienda de S. Md de esta ciud de Nuestra señora de la Paz, y Corregimientos de su Distrito Contador el Capn Dn Juan Esteban Muños, y Tesorero Dn Manuel de Sagarnaga". They are directed to General Sebastian de Seguro, "Cavallero del Orden de Calatrava, Corregidor y Justamar Tente de Capn Gral, y Alcalde Mar de Minas y Registros de la Prova de Larecaja y su jurisdiccion por su Magd".
- 1784, May 4. Page 391: Additional documents in the royal sentence, by several officers and attorneys.
- 1803, October 19. The volume as a whole can be divided into six sections from the standpoint of contents:
- (a) Accusation: pp. 1-14, 37-38; (b) Defense: pp. 15-16, 23, 28-29, 32, 59, 71, 89-91; (c) Depositions: pp. 17, 22, 33, 36, 41-42, 43-45, 53, 57, 163, 264; (d) Prosecution: pp. 109-112; (e) Proceedings: pp. 113-162; and (f) Sentence: pp. 385-402.
- This is an extremely interesting and valuable collection on the subject of jurisdiction, financial administration and justice. So many inhabitants and locations

are involved that this becomes a record of these people and the extent of their business affairs. On pages 81 to 86 (of the manuscripts) are to be noted especially the list of taxes owed, from which it can be seen how wealthy and prosperous the viceroyalty of Peru was at that time. This is shown by the fact that one person was taxed as much as 1,091 pesos on legal papers alone, under the administration of General Santisu. For further details concerning the amounts and the purposes of the taxes, consult p. 85 of the manuscript.

(MB, Vol. 11, *JE*, 1768-1803, Doc. 126, pp. 1-402.) [21 1/2 x 31 1/2 cm.] Fifteen pages blank.

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(To be continued)

LIST OF BOOKS REFERRING TO CAUDILLOS IN HISPANIC AMERICA

The compiler has a list of several hundred items which would have to be considered in a thorough study of caudillism. The topic has been ably and amply discussed by Argentinian authors, although there are other countries which have witnessed a more vicious and certainly more prolonged form of caudillism than Argentina. The following brief list is a selection of books which seem especially noteworthy for the study of caudillos and caudillism. No attempt is made to exhaust the book sources, which are the only ones given here. It should be noted that manuscript sources are plentiful.¹

Alvarez Suárez, Agustín Enrique: *South America: ensayo de psicología política*. Buenos Aires, 1918.

Arguedas, Alcides: *Los caudillos bárbaros*. Barcelona, 1929.

——— *Historia de Bolivia: los caudillos letrados*. Barcelona, 1923.

——— *Pueblo enfermo: contribución a la psicología de los pueblos hispano-americanos*. Barcelona, 1909.

Ayarragaray, Lucas: *La anarquía argentina y el caudillismo*. Buenos Aires, 1904. 2d ed., Buenos Aires, 1925.

Basadre, Jorge: *La iniciación de la república*. 2 vols. Lima, 1929.

Blanco Fombona, Rufino: *La evolución política y social de Hispano-América*. Madrid, 1911.

Blasco Ibáñez, Vicente: *El militarismo mejicano*. Valencia, 1920. Tr. ed. by Arthur Livingston and José Padín. New York, 1920.

Bunge, Carlos Octavio: *Nuestra América*. Barcelona, 1903. 6th ed., Buenos Aires, 1918.

García, Juan Agustín: *La ciudad indiana*. 2d ed., Buenos Aires, 1909. 3d ed., Buenos Aires [1911?]

García Calderón, Francisco: *Les démocraties latines de l'Amérique*. Paris, 1912. Eng. ed. *Latin America: its rise and progress*, tr. ed. by Bernard Miall. London, 1913. Reprinted, London, 1918.

Ingenieros, José: *Sociología argentina*. 2d ed., Madrid, 1913. 7th ed., Buenos Aires, 1918.

Levillier, Roberto: *Les origines argentines; la formation d'un grand peuple*. Paris, 1912. Sp. ed., Paris, 1912.

Mendieta, Salvador: *La enfermedad de Centro-América*. Barcelona and Buenos Aires, 1910.

¹ See the compiler's article "The Age of the Caudillos", in this *REVIEW*, August, 1932, pp. 281-300.

- Oliveira Lima, Manoel de: *The evolution of Brazil compared with that of Spanish and Anglo-Saxon America*. Stanford University, California, 1914. Sp. ed., Madrid, [191-].
- Quevedo y Zubieta, Salvador: *El caudillo: continuación de "Porfirio Díaz, ensayo de psicología histórica"*. (Septiembre 1865-Septiembre 1876). Paris and Mexico, 1909.
- Porfirio Díaz, Septiembre 1830-Septiembre 1865; ensayo de psicología histórica. Paris and Mexico, 1906.
- Ramos Mejía, José María: *Rosas y su tiempo*. 3 vols. 2d ed., Buenos Aires, 1907. 3d ed., Buenos Aires, 1927.
- Saldías, Adolfo: *La evolución republicana durante la revolución argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1906. 2d ed., Madrid, 1919.
- Sarmiento, Domingo Faustino: *Facundo: civilización y barbarie en la república argentina*. Santiago, Chile, 1845. Many editions have been published, the most recent being Madrid, 1916.
- Vallenilla Lanz, Laureano: *Cesarismo democrático*. Caracas, 1919. Fr. ed. Paris, [1920?].
- Wyld Ospina, Carlos: *El autócrata: ensayo político-social*. Guatemala, 1929.
- Zum Felde, Alberto: *Proceso histórico del Uruguay: esquema de una sociología nacional*. Montevideo, 1919.

In addition to the books listed above, biographies of some of the most conspicuous caudillos have been published as follows (the list does not pretend to be complete):

- Acevedo, Eduardo: *José Artigas, jefe de los orientales y protector de los pueblos libres*. 3 vols. Montevideo, 1909-1910.
- Arocena, Carlos A.: *"Artigas" y la civilización rural*. Montevideo, 1911.
- Báez, Cecilio: *Ensayo sobre el doctor Francia y la dictadura en Sud-América*. Asunción, 1910.
- Barbagelata, Hugo David: *Artigas y la revolución americana*. Paris, [1914]. 2d ed., Paris, 1930.
- Baz, Gustavo: *Vida de Benito Juárez*. Mexico, 1874.
- Berthe, Augustine: *García Moreno, président de l'Équateur*. Paris, 1887.
- Bilbao, Manuel: *Historia de Rosas, precedido de un estudio psicológico*. Buenos Aires, 1919.
- Blanco Fombona, Rufino: *Judas Capitolino (Juan Vicente Gómez)*. Chartres, 1912.
- Boglich, J.: *El dictador del Paraguay, doctor José Gaspar Rodríguez de Francia*. Concordia, Entre Ríos, 1923.
- Bulnes, Francisco: *El verdadero Díaz y la revolución*. Mexico, 1920.
- *El verdadero Juárez y la verdad sobre la intervención y el imperio*. Paris and Mexico, 1904.
- *Juárez y las resoluciones de Ayutla y de Reforma*. Mexico, 1905.
- Burgess, Paul: *Justo Rufino Barrios: a biography*. Philadelphia, [c 1926].

- Burke, Ulick Ralph: *A life of Benito Juárez, constitutional president of Mexico.* London and Sydney, 1894.
- Camara Cascudo, Luiz da: *López do Paraguay.* Natal, Brazil, 1927.
- Castro Esteves, Ramón de: *Rosas ante la historia.* Buenos Aires, 1931.
- Cornyn, John Humbert: *Díaz y México.* 2 vols. Mexico, 1910.
- Cosmes, Francisco G.: *El verdadero Bulnes y su falso Juárez.* Mexico, 1904.
- Creelman, James: *Díaz, master of Mexico.* New York, 1911.
- Fregeiro, Clemente L.: *Artigas: estudio histórico. Documentos justificativos.* Montevideo, 1886.
- Frías, Félix: *La gloria del tirano Rosas, y otros escritos políticos y polémicos.* Buenos Aires, 1928.
- García, Genaro: *Porfirio Díaz, sus padres, niños y juventud.* México, 1906.
- Godoy, José Francisco: *Porfirio Díaz, presidente de México, el fundador de una gran república.* México, 1910. Eng. ed., New York and London, 1910.
- Hannay, David: *Díaz.* London, 1917.
- Ibarguren, Carlos: *Juan Manuel de Rosas, su vida, su tiempo, su drama.* 3d ed., Buenos Aires, 1930.
- Kaufmann, Mathilde Binder: *Don Gabriel Garcia Moreno, präsident der republik Ecuador.* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1891.
- Lascano, Martín V.: *Estudios psicológicos sobre don Juan Manuel de Rosas y su gobierno. Juicio reivindicatorio.* Buenos Aires, 1927.
- Le Gouhir y Rodas, José: *Un gran americano: García Moreno.* 2d ed. Quito, 1923.
- Llanos, Julio: *El doctor Francia.* Buenos Aires, 1907.
- Mansilla, Lucio Victorio: *Rosas: ensayo histórico psicológico.* 2d ed., Paris, 1899.
- O'Connor d'Arlach, Tomás: *Francia y Melgarejo.* La Paz, 1914.
- O'Leary, Juan Emiliano: *El mariscal Solano López.* 2d ed., Madrid, 1925.
- Pelliza, Mariano A.: *Dorrego en la historia de los partidos unitario y federal.* Buenos Aires, 1878.
- : *La dictadura de Rosas.* Buenos Aires, 1917.
- Pereira, Antonio N.: *El general d. José Artigas ante la historia.* Montevideo, 1877.
- Pereyra, Carlos: *Francisco Solano López y la guerra del Paraguay.* Madrid, 1919.
- Quesada, Ernesto: *La época de Rosas.* Buenos Aires, 1926.
- Ramos Mejía, José María: *Rosas y el doctor Francia (estudios psiquiátricos)—la neurosis de Rosas, la melancolía del doctor Francia.* Madrid, [1917?].
- Rebaudi, Arturo: *Un tirano de Sud-América, Francisco Solano López.* Buenos Aires, 1925.
- Rengger, Johann Rudolph, and Longchamps, ———: *The reign of doctor Joseph Gaspard Roderick de Francia, being an account of six years' residence in that republic, from July, 1819-May, 1825.* Tr. fr. Fr. London, 1827. Fr. & Ger. ed., 1835.
- Robertson, John Parish, and Robertson, William Parish: *Letters on Paraguay: comprising an account of four years' residence in that republic, under the government of the dictator Francia.* 2 vols. London, 1838-1839.

Santiviáñez, José María: *Rasgos biográficos de Adolfo Ballivián*. Santiago, Chile, 1878.

Sierra, Justo: *Juárez: su obra y su tiempo*. México, 1905-1906.

Solar, Alberto del: *Don Manuel Dorrego: ensayo histórico sobre su juventud y especialmente sobre sus hechos en Chile durante su vida de estudiante*. Buenos Aires, 1889.

Sotomayor y Valdés, Ramón: *Estudio histórico de Bolivia bajo la administración del jeneral d. José María de Achá; con una introducción que contiene el compendio de la guerra de independencia i de los gobiernos de dicha república hasta 1861*. Santiago, Chile, 1874.

Tweedie, Ethel Brilliana: *Porfirio Díaz, seven times president of Mexico*. London, 1906.

Vicuña Mackenna, Benjamín: *D. Juan Manuel Rosas delante de la posteridad*. Lima, [1860?].

Zayas Enríquez, Rafael de: *Porfirio Díaz, la evolución de su vida*. Chicago and New York, 1908. Eng. ed., also 1908.

The following theses, written as partial requirement for the M.A. degree in the University of California at Berkeley, none of which has been published, may be consulted in the library of the University:

Altman, Ida Mae: *Juan Facundo Quiroga: the tiger of the Argentine pampas*. 1930.

Bealer, Lewis Winkler: *Artigas and the beginnings of Uruguay, 1810-1820*. 1930.

Becker, Gilbert Bell: *Juan Manuel Rosas, Argentine dictator*. 1927.

Brooks, Philip Coolidge: *Bernardino Rivadavia: Argentina's statesman among warriors*. 1930.

García, Marjorie Mary: *A history of Guatemala in the era of Conservative rule, 1839-1871*. 1932.

Leal, Clarence Anthony: *Gabriel García Moreno: life and works of Ecuador's most famous president*. 1931.

Neasham, Vernon Aubrey: *Juan Bautista Alberdi: Argentinian thinker of the nineteenth century*. 1932.

Pylman, Alice Sarah: *Carlos de Alvear: a study in the origins of the Argentine republic*. 1930.

Silva, Claude Thomas: *Portuguese and Brazilian imperialism: Uruguay, 1808-1828*. 1932.

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NOTES

The fourth volume of the *Annaes do Museu Paulista* has been published (São Paulo, 1931) under the direction of the distinguished Brazilian scholar Dr. Affonso de E. Taunay after a lapse of four years since the appearance of Volume III. Its belated publication is not due to a lack of material, as Dr. Taunay confesses in the preface, but to the numerous historical investigations which have been undertaken by the energetic director of the Museu Paulista during that time. The present work is largely based on documents in the archives of the Museu Paulista. It includes, in part, a biography of Fernão Dias Paes, the intrepid *bandeirante* whose daring episodes have colored the history of São Paulo; an appreciation of the late Brazilian historian Capistrano de Abreu together with a complete list of his writings, and notes for a suggested history of the printing press in São Paulo. One of the most precious documents in the possession of the Museu is "Descreeção da fazenda que o collegio de Santo Antônio tem no Brazil e de seus rendimentos", which Capistrano prized highly, is reproduced in the *Annaes* for the first time. The document is said to be of great relevancy to the early economic history of Brazil, especially with regard to the primitive sugar mills. It abounds with interesting information and thus serves to widen the horizon of seventeenth-century Brazil. Other volumes of the *Annaes* are now in course of preparation.—P. A. M.

Documents in the Ultramarine Archives of the Portuguese National Library are listed, annotated and prefaced in a one-volume work, *A secção ultramarina da bibliotheca nacional, inventários*, which has recently appeared (Lisbon, 1928). The work falls in three divisions: (1) "Códices do extinto conselho ultramarino", with an introduction and notes by M. A. Hedwig Fitzler, corresponding member of the Instituto de Coimbra; (2) "Códices vindos de Moçambique por iniciativa de António Ennes", and (3) "Códices do Arquivo da Marinha", the latter two being annotated and prefaced by Ernesto Ennes, conservator of the National Library. Students of colonial Brazil will be especially interested in the part devoted to the extinct Conselho

Ultramarino. This collection offers a wealth of material for the early economic and administrative history of Portuguese America, much of which has never been utilized by the historian, and which, indeed, should throw additional light on the pioneering activities of the Portuguese in the new world. The chief value of the present work lies in its usefulness as a guide for those who may have access to the archives in Lisbon, since unfortunately the documents themselves are not reproduced. It serves also as a worthy indication of the efforts which the government is now directing toward rendering more accessible to students and scholars the rich treasures in colonial history which are the patrimony of Portugal.—P. A. M.

To stimulate interest in the biographical dictionary of Cuba which is now under preparation, the Academia de la Historia de Cuba announces the "Rodolfo Rodríguez de Armas" prize of \$400 which will be awarded next year for the best paper submitted. Proposed candidates for the new dictionary will be limited in the present instance to (1) persons whose proper names begin with the letters E, F, G, H and I, and (2) to persons since deceased who have in any way figured in Cuban history, either within the country or without. Manuscripts must be written in Spanish and in the possession of the Academy on or before February 4, 1933. Additional information may be secured from René Lufriú, secretary, Marta Abreu y Cuba, Havana.—P. A. M.

Because of the historical interest attached to the veneration in Argentina of the *Virgen del Buen Aire*, José Torre Revello has found time among his multitudinous duties as European representative of the Archivo General de la Nación to publish a monograph on the subject entitled *La Virgen del Buen Aire* (Buenos Aires, 1931). Sr. Torre's thesis is that Buenos Aires, as the name would indicate, was named after the "*Virgen del Buen Aire*" whose veneration is said to have originated in Sardinia, thence taken to Italy, from where Spanish sailors carried it to Spain and South America. However, the "*Virgen del Buen Aire*" revered in Argentina is in reality the Virgin painted in the Casa de Contratación in Seville. Sr. Torre disproves the current fallacy that both Virgins are the same, and shows in what manner the two have become associated.—P. A. M.

In the general section "Documentos referentes a la guerra de la independencia y emancipación política de la república Argentina y de otras secciones de América" (second series), the Archivo General de la Nación has brought to light an interesting collection of documents entitled *Campaña del Brasil—antecedentes coloniales*, the first volume of which has already been published (Buenos Aires, 1931). The present collection covers the period 1535-1749 and is divided into two parts as follows: (1) "Tentativas portuguesas de expansión territorial en el Río de la Plata", and (2) "Fundación de la colonia del Sacramento hasta 1749". For a history of Hispano-Portuguese relations with reference to the much-disputed question of the priority of claims in the Río de la Plata basin, this list of documents is of prime importance. It serves as a background to the later wars between Argentina and Brazil. Portugal had contended that the Platine estuary was the logical division of the territory to which the two Iberian powers claimed jurisdiction in South America. The Spanish, however, were reluctant to admit these claims; in 1828, the question over the disputed territory was finally settled with the creation of the Republic of Uruguay and the extension of the Portuguese patrimony to the south was definitely abandoned. Sr. Carlos Correa Luna, director of this second series, has written an admirable introduction in which he traces the early maritime and colonizing rivalry between Spain and Portugal, touching at some length on the claims of Portugal to the territory north of the Río de la Plata estuary. A comprehensive index, with lists of names and subject headings, is also included.—P. A. M.

The ninth volume of the second series of the *Acuerdos del extinguido cabildo de Buenos Aires* has just been published under the direction of Sr. Eugénio Corbet France by the Archivo General de la Nación (Buenos Aires, 1931). The volume covers the five-year period from 1745 to 1750 and contains the minutes *in extenso* of the meetings held during that time. The material as presented is exceedingly detailed and indicates clearly the importance of the *cabildo* in Spanish America; as a cross-section of the early life of Buenos Aires it is a creditable contribution to Argentine historiography. The present work also includes several photostat copies of the originals and a complete index admirably suited for purposes of research. It is the

first volume of the series published under Sr. Corbet France, vice-director of the Archivo, who since the lamented death of Sr. Augusto S. Mallié, has carried on the work of historical investigation in a manner worthy of his illustrious colleague.—P. A. M.

On occasion of his admission to the Academia de la Historia de Cuba as "Académico de Número", Colonel Carlos Manuel de Céspedes y de Quesada, eminent Cuban diplomat and historian, read an interesting paper which subsequently appeared as an official publication of the Academy. It was entitled "Un instante decisivo de la maravillosa carrera de Máximo Gómez" (Havana, 1932), and dealt with an incident in the life of the great revolutionary leader when, thwarted at the time of the American intervention in his plans for a Cuban Ayacucho by dislodging the Spanish from Havana, he resolved to quit Cuba for some foreign country. The decisive moment in his career came, Dr. Céspedes writes, when he chose to remain and lend his further energies to the consummation of independence. His great disappointment was the result of the acceptance of the American counter-plan which aimed to take Santiago. Dr. Céspedes is well qualified to do homage to the memory of the Cuban patriot since he has been privileged to enjoy his friendship.—P. A. M.